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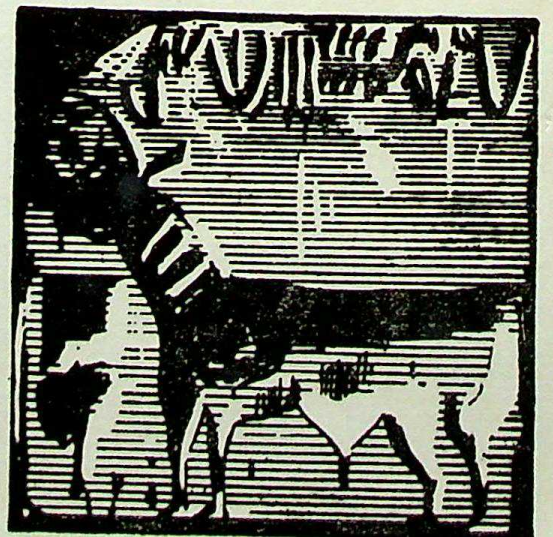

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXII **March, 1946** **No. 1**

New Lights on the History of Assam

*Assam during 1150-1250 A.D.**

(The first Defenders of Assam's Freedom)

The chronology of the kings of Kāmarūpa, after the extinction of the line of Puṣyavarmma with Bhāskara or his successor, is far from certain. Reference to details will only serve to confuse. I shall, therefore, confine myself to only bold outlines.

For all practical purposes, Puṣyavarmma's line may be taken to have become extinct by 700 A. D.

This line was supplanted by the dynasty of Śālastambha, which became extinct with Tyāgasiṃha, the 21st king. Only one date during the reign of this long line of kings is certain. The Tejpur Rock inscription of the 15th king Harjjara bears the date of 510 in the Gupta Era, equivalent to 830 A. D. Thus we find that during the period c. 700 A. D.—830 A. D., i. e. in 130 years, fourteen kings of the line had completed their reigns, and the 15th was ruling. Of the succeeding kings of this line, Banamāla and Balavarmma are known from their copper-plates, to have ruled at least nineteen and eight years respectively. Assuming that Harjjara came to the throne not long before 830 A. D. and had a fairly long reign of about 25 years, he ceased to reign by about 855 A. D. Adding to this year 19 years of Banamāla and 8 years of Balavarmma we get the figure 882. Adding to this again an average of 10 years for each of the four remaining kings, we arrive at the year 922 A. D. as the year when this dynasty became extinct. In this mathematical determination of the year of the end of Śālastambha's line, I am quite alive to the fact that we may have to add a few more years to the year determined. But allowing for all margins the year is not likely to go beyond 950 A. D.

*The third lecture in the series—"New Lights on the History of Assam" under the scheme of *The Pratibha Devi Memorial Lectures* sponsored by the Government of Assam.

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For all practical purposes, this year may be taken as the year about which the line of Śālastambha came to an end.

In Bengal, as is well-known, the voice of the people asserted itself about a century and a half earlier, in ending a century-long anarchy by the election of Gopāla. With the end of Śālastambha's line, similar forces were set in motion in the neighbouring province of Assam, which ended in the election of Brahmapāla, a scion of the dynasty of Puṣyavarmma, to the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa. Ratnapāla son of the king thus elected, quietly narrates in his copperplate grants to Brāhmaṇas, how the original dynasty of Kāmarūpa was ousted by the Mleccha Śālastambha, and how, when his line became extinct with Tyāgasiṃha, the 21st king, Ratna's father Brahmapāla of the old dynasty was sought out by the people and placed on the throne.

The following is the genealogy of this dynasty, Brahmapāla; his son Ratnapāla; his son Purandarapāla; (he died before he came to the throne.) his son Indrapāla; his son Gopāla; his son Harṣapāla; his son Dharmmapāla. Another king of this dynasty Jayapāla is known from the Śilimpur stone inscription, and from a literary reference. His exact place in the line is not known, but in all probability, he was a son and successor of the last king Dharmmapāla. We have thus seven kings of this line. Of them Ratnapāla is represented by two copper-plates, dated in his 25th and 26th years; Indrapāla by two plates dated in the 8th and the 21st year; and Dharmmapāla by three plates, none of them dated beyond the 3rd year. It is difficult to build up any dependable scheme of chronology in the absence of any fixed point in the history of this dynasty and we have to be content with the assumption that these kings, by their seven generations covered about two centuries. In other words, the dynasty of Brahmapāla may be taken to have ruled roughly from c. 950 A. D. to about 1125 A. D.

Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua ends this dynasty exactly at the same date though he begins it much later at 985 A. D. (*Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 149). Pandit Sj. Padmanāth Bhaṭṭācāryya, after allocating the entire 11th century A. D. to five generations brings down their successor Dharmmapāla to the 12th century A. D. It will thus be seen that there is unanimity of opinion between myself and these two scholars on this point (*Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, Intro. p. 24).

But who succeeded this dynasty of Brahmapāla? What happened to Kāmarūpa after c. 1125 A. D? Pandit Vidyavinod is inclined to think that the rest of the century was occupied by the rule of Jayapāla and some other unnamed successors of Dharmmapāla, and he is not inclined to credit rulers like Timgya Deva and Vaidyadeva with any effective hold over any vital part of Kāmarūpa (*Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali*, p. 42).

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The views of Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua are much more reasonable than those of Paṇḍit Vidyāvinod. Says Mr. Barua after an elaborate and well-reasoned discussion of all the relevant facts:—

"We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that Vaidyadeva was the king of the whole of Kāmarūpa, though probably the eastern districts of the Assam valley were then outside Kāmarūpa. Tiṁgya-deva, *who was probably not a scion of the Pāla line*, but a local feudatory chief of repute, was established in Kāmarūpa as a vassal ruler.....He rebelled as soon as Kumārapāla ascended the throne. He was overthrown by Vaidyadeva.....Vaidyadeva found it convenient to throw off the yoke of the Pāla rulers....."

The following outline of the sequence of events may, therefore, be accepted with more or less certainty, and further confusion by controversy avoided in future.

Tiṁgya-deva would appear to have been an upstart and not a scion of the line of Brahmapāla. His peculiar name lends support to this view. The last kings of the line of Brahmapāla were weak rulers and received frequent knocks from the Bengal kings. The following events are on record:—

(i) Defeat at the hands of Jātavarmma, king of Vaṅga. This happened about 1060 A D.

(ii) Defeat by a king, probably Vijaya-sena (*I.H.Q.*, 1943. p. 137), This happened when Varendrī had been recovered and Rāmapāla was still alive. Rāmapāla died in 1120 A. D. (*I.H.Q.*, 1941, p. 221). So this defeat came about half-a-century after that of Jātavarmma.

(iii) The clash with the king of Kāmarūpa recorded in the Deopāḍā Inscription of Vijayasena as well as in the Mādhāinagar and the Bhāwal plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, may have been identical with No. (ii) above, or also succeeding clashes.

These repeated fights must have sapped the vitality of the last rulers of the line of Brahmapāla. This appears to have encouraged one Tiṁgyadeva to wipe out the old line and himself assume the throne of Kāmarūpa. Whoever this Tiṁgyadeva may be, whether an upstart, or a scion of the old line, he was respected by the Pāla sovereign of northern Bengal. It was only when he committed some excesses that the Pāla king Kumārapāla, successor of Rāmapāla had to take up arms against him. Vaidyadeva, his Brahmin minister

1 Much confusion has been caused by the wrong interpretation of verse 47, Book II of the *Rāmacritam*, which has been taken to relate to a conquest of Kāmarūpa by Rāmapāla of Bengal. Rāmapāla did nothing of the kind, but only tolerated the conquest by another king, when he had not the courage to oppose or provoke. V.R.S. Edition, Intro. xxxiii. For correct interpretation of the verse, see *IHQ.*, 1943, p. 137.

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went against him with an army and in the encounter, Timgyadeva lost his life. Vaidyadeva was appointed king of Kāmarūpa by his master Kumārapāla and thus was a shortlived Brahmin dynasty established in Kāmarūpa. This event happened in 1135 A. D. (*I.H.Q.*, III, pp. 581-82). The only evidence of Vaidyadeva's reign is his Kamauli plate, dated in the 4th year of his reign. The history of Kāmarūpa is absolutely dark after this momentary flash furnished by the Kamauli plate. If Vaidyadeva disappeared from the history of Kāmarūpa by about 1140 A.D., who came next?

Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur in his *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, chapters VIII and IX, discusses this problem but fails to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. He holds that the successors of Vaidyadeva occupied the throne of Kāmarūpa for some years longer and then he lands upon one Pṛthu, who, he thinks, "was undoubtedly a king of Kāmarūpa, and very probably he was a descendant of Vaidyadeva" (p. 199). He credits this Pṛthu with the remarkable achievement of having defeated Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār, the redoubtable conqueror of Bihar and Northern Bengal. I am afraid, a mistake of Sir Wolsely Haig in the IIIrd volume of the *Cambridge History of India* misled the Rai Bahadur into taking Pṛthu to be a king of Kāmarūpa. It is therefore necessary here to discuss again the proofs on which the existence of this Pṛthu rests.

The only authority for the existence of this Pṛthu is the *Tabakat-i-Nāsiri*. In giving an account of the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz, who assumed independence in Bengal, and to bring whom back to submission Sultan Iltutmish had to make successive attempts, the author of the *Tabakat-i-Nāsiri* records as follows (Raverty, p. 591ff.):—

"In the year 622H. Iyaltimish resolved upon marching into Lakhanawati: and Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz moved his vessels up the river. A treaty of peace was concluded between them and the Sultan extorted thirty-eight elephants and eighty *lakhs* of treasure, and the Khutba was read for him and the coin stamped in his name. When the Sultan Iyaltimish withdrew, he conferred Bihar upon Malik Izzuddin Jani, and Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz marched into Bihar from Lakhanawati and again took possession of it and treated it with severity, until, in the year 624H. (began Dec. 22, 1226 A.D.), the august Malik Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Shamsuddin Iyaltimish, at the instigation of Malik Izzuddin Jani, assembled the forces of Hindustan and marched from Awadh and proceeded into Lakhanawati. At this time, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz-i-Husain, the Khalj, ad led an army from Lakhanawati towards the territory of Kamrud and Bang and had left the city of Lakhanawati unprotected. Malik Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah took possession of it and Ghiya-

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suddin Iwaz-i-Husain, the Khalj, on account of that disaster returned from that force and fought an engagement with Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah. Ghiyasuddin Iwaz-i-Husain and the whole of the Khalj Amirs were taken prisoners and Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz was martyred. His reign extended over a period of twelve years."

In giving an account of the career of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah, conqueror of Iwaz, in a subsequent chapter, Minhaj records as follows and it is here that we meet with a reference to Pṛthu: (Raverty, p. 628ff.).

"Malik Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah was the eldest son of Sultan Shamsuddin.....The first fief which the Sultan conferred upon him was the district of Hansi and after a considerable time, in the year 623 H., the territory of Awadh was entrusted to his charge. In that country, that prince performed numerous commendable actions and carried on holy war as by the tenets of the faith enjoined, so that his praise for manliness and boldness became diffused throughout the area of Hindustan.

"The accursed Bartu (or Britu), beneath whose sword about a hundred and twenty thousand Muslims had attained martyrdom, he overthrew and sent to hell and the refractory infidels, who were in different parts of the country of Awadh, he reduced and overcame and brought a considerable number under obedience.

"From Awadh, he resolved to march into Lakhanawati and the forces of Hindustan, by command of the Sultan, his father, were nominated to serve under him, and Maliks of renown such as Pulan and Malik Alauddin Jani, all of them proceeded towards Lakhanawati in attendance on him. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz, the Khalj, had marched forces from Lakhanawati with the intention of (entering) the territory of Bang and had left his headquarters empty. When the august Malik Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah reached that corritory with his forces, the fortress of Basankot and the city of Lakhanawati fell into his hands."

"When the news reached Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz, the Khalj, he set out for Lakhanawati from the place where he then was, Malik Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah, with his forces, proceeded against him and defeated him and captured Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz with all his kinsmen and the Khalj Amirs, his treasures and elephants. He had Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz put to death and appropriated his treasures."

These are the only two passages of the *Tabakat-i-Nāsiri* on which Sir Wolsley Haig or anybody else dealing with the subject has to derive materials and form his opinion. There is a close agreement between the two accounts, with only this slight disagreement that in the former account, Iwaz is said to have gone

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on expedition to Kamrad and Bang, whereas in the second account, only Bang is mentioned. Otherwise, as dates also are mentioned, we can clearly trace the sequence and the course of events.

622 H. Iltutmish marches against Lakhnauti. Ghiyasuddin Iwaz, Sultan of Lakhnauti, advances up the river Ganges with a number of war-boats to resist him. Iltutmish occupies Bihar, which he puts under Malik Izzuddin Jani, extorts indemnities from Iwaz and leaves him in occupation of the territory of Lackhnauti.

Soon after the retirement of Iltutmish, Iwaz, free from the fear of checkmating, advances into Bihar, defeats Izzuddin and treats the conquered country with severity,

623 H. Nasiruddin Mahmud, the eldest son of Sultan Iltutmish is appointed to govern the fief of Audh. He is joined by a number of distinguished Maliks. Here, one Pṛthu, had given fierce resistance to Muslim aggression and had killed no less than one lakh and twenty thousand Muslims. Nasiruddin engaged Pṛthu in battle and killed him. He also dealt severely with all the refractory elements in the province.

624 H. Nasiruddin was asked by Sultan Iltutmish to get together an expeditionary army against the aggressor Iwaz of Lakhnauti. This was done, and as Iwaz was away on an expedition to Eastern Bengal and Assam, Lakhnauti, and its protecting fort Basankot was easily occupied. On news of this expedition reaching him, Iwaz returned, was severely defeated and captured with his whole host and put to death.

I hope it is clear now, that Pṛthu must have been a man of Audh and not of Kāmarūpa, and Sir Wolsley Haig's erroneous conjecture led Rai Bahadur Barua into error.

Have we, then, no materials for the reconstruction of the history of Kāmarūpa for the period after the disappearance of Vaidyadeva from the field? I propose to show below that there are now at least three documents, all dated in the *śaka* era, which furnish materials for the reconstruction of a dependable outline. Curiously, two of these documents were well-known to previous scholars and only the third I shall publish here for the first time. But unfortunately, the historians of Assam, failed to see their applicability and even argued against it. I refer to the Tejpur copper-plates of Vallabha Deva, dated in 1107 Śaka, and the Kanaibarshi inscription, near Northern Gauhati dated in 1127 Śaka.

Published by Dr. Kielhorn in 1898-99 in the fifth volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, these plates would appear to have persistently suffered by turns from being ignored and mis-interpreted right up to the present time. Sir Edward Gait, the first historian of Assam takes no notice of them whatsoever in his *History of Assam* published in

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1906. This ignoring by the pioneer historian of Assam is made by Pandit Vidyavinod to lend strength to his own views that these plates had nothing to do with Assam, though they were found in or somewhere near Tejpur (*Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvli*, intro. p. 43, footnote, concluding lines.)

Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, while noticing the Tejpur plates of Vallabha Deva thus remarks :—

"Evidently, these kings could not have been rulers of Kāmarūpa, for the simple reason that there is no room for them between Vaidyadeva and 1185 A. D."

Though the Rai Bahadur admits that the period after Vaidyadeva is a blank in the history of Assam (*E. H. K.*, p. 197, line 4) he tried his best to accommodate Pṛthu during the period. It is to be regretted that the evidence of this important dated document was thus lost and ignored and the dynasty that was responsible for the total annihilation of the forces of the haughty conqueror of Bihar and Northern Bengal as well as for the expulsion of the subsequent invaders of their kingdom, has so long been thus denied the recognition due to it.

Two scholars of Bengal, however, have not failed to put in the dynasty of Vallabha Deva in its proper place in the chronology of Assam, and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji also took Vallabha Deva's line to be the rulers of Assam, (Banerjee, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, Ch. XI. p. 317, 2nd Ed.).

Dr. H. C. Ray, in his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, (Ed. 1931) admirably summarises the outline of the dynastic history of Assam in chapter V of his book. Pandit Vidyavinod's *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali* was published shortly afterwards, but evidently Dr. Ray's book did not catch Pandit Vidyavinod's attention. But it is really rather surprising, that the first volume of Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu's *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, published ten years earlier (1922) in which similar views had been expressed and who worked with the close co-operation of Pandit Vidyavinod (Intro. p. I), also failed to attract the attention of the late lamented Pandit.

Mr. Vasu takes the dynasty of Vallabha Deva, viz. Rāyārideva Trailokya Simha, his son Udaya-Karṇṇa Nihśaṅka Siṃha, his son Vallabhadeva Śrīvallabha to have occupied the throne of Kāmarūpa after the end of Vaidyadeva's line (*Social History of Kamarupa*, I. p. 229 ff). Says Mr. Vasu—"From evidence at hand, it seems that Rāyārideva defeated either Vaidyadeva or one of his descendants and took possession of Kāmarūpa, (p. 231).....Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar seems to have invaded Kāmarūpa during the reign of Vallabhadeva, or of his son and successor." P. 235.

Dr. H. Ray in his *Dynastic History* also takes Rāyārideva and his

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line to have succeeded Vaidyadeva on the throne of Kāmarūpa and suggests that it was probably Vallabhadeva, who was a contemporary of Muhammad Ibn Bakhtiyar (pp. 258-260).

I am definitely of opinion that Vallabhadeva's plates have been undeservedly neglected by Pandit Vidyavinod and Rai Bahadur Barua. The elephant seal, which would have unmistakably marked it as a charter of a king of Kāmarūpa, is unfortunately missing. But the invocation of Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation in the second *śloka* and the threat held out in śloka 25 that the Primeval Boar will mete out due punishment to one who attempts to nullify the grant, should have made plain to all scholars that the plates are issues of a full-filedged king of Kāmarūpa. Plates are generally discovered in the vicinity of the land granted, and the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva or the Belāba plate of Bhoja Varmma are rare exceptions that only serve to prove the general rule. In all probability, the land granted by the Tejpur plates lay near about Tejpur, and to relegate a prince who in all probability had thus control over the heart of Kāmarūpa, to the status of a feudatory having sway over only a small kingdom towards the North-Bengal border, appears to me rather unreasonable.

Taking, therefore, the Tejpur plates of Vallabhadeva to be the charter issued by a real sovereign of Kāmarūpa, let us attempt to build up a chronology and trace the course of historical events. To form a back-ground for the chronology of Kāmarūpa, it is well to recall here the chronology of the Pāla kings of northern Bengal and Bihar and the Sena kings of Bengal south of the Ganges during the period. These chronologies have now been fixed with a great deal of accuracy:—

c. 1060 A. D. Varendrī usurped by Divya

c. 1074 A. D. Varendrī recovered by Rāmapāla. The first year of Rāmapāla's reign.

1120 A. D. Death of Rāmapāla.

c. 1095 A. D. Vijayasena assumes sovereignty in Rāḍhā and begins to strike about himself, north, north-east, east and west. His clash with Kāmarūpa.

c. 1140 A. D. Battle of Nimdīghī in which Gopāla III son of Kumārapāla and grandson of Rāmapāla goes down before the aggressive Vijayasena.

1160 A. D. Death of Vijayasena: accession of Ballālasena. Vijayasena's conquest of Kāmarūpa and Vaṅga must be dated before this year, roughly between 1095 A. D. and 1160 A. D.

1161 A. D. Ballālasena makes an end of the Pāla kingdom in North Bengal and Bihar. The whole of Bengal and Bihar passes under the sena rule.

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1178 A. D. Death of Ballālasena : accession of Lakṣmaṇasena.

1202 A. D. Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar's raid and occupation of northern Bengal. Lakṣmaṇasena retires to Eastern Bengal.

1206 A. D. Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar invades Bhutan through Kāmarūpa. On the 7th March, 1206 A. D. his army annihilated by the onslaught of the king of Kāmarūpa and Muhammad dies of a broken heart on his return to Devkot.

The following is an analysis of the Tejpur plates of Vallabhadeva : The charter opens with an invocation of God Gaṇeśa. The second *śloka* invokes Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation.

The third *śloka* speaks of one Bhāskara, born in the race of the moon, who was an overlord, and to whom a multitude of kings paid homage. This Bhāskara appears to me to be none other than the renowned Bhāskaravarmma, whose East-Indian empire was a rival to Harṣavardhana's North-Indian one.

The fourth *śloka* speaks of a king called Rāyārideva, sprung from that Bhāskara ; but there is nothing to show immediate succession. The imperial position of Bhāskara, compared to the more modest position allocated to Rāyārideva, as well as the statement that Rāyārideva was the frontal ornament of the kings in Bhāskara's race would rather show that only lineage is spoken of and not immediate succession. If my contention finds approval from scholars, it would appear that the dynasty of Rāyārideva, was also, like the dynasty of Brahmapāla, a branch of the old stock done away with by the Mleccha Śālastambha.

The fifth *śloka* says that, Rāyārideva, surnamed Trailokyasiṃha an ornament of kings in Bhāskara's race, met in battle and defeated the lordly elephants of Vaṅga. As already made out, Rāyārideva could not have risen to power much before 1140 A. D. so, this conflict must refer to his clash with Vijayasena, who appears to have ousted the Varmmas and occupied Vaṅga by about 1112 A. D. Vijayasena claims to have driven away (*apākṛta*) the king of Kāmarūpa, whereas, Rāyārideva is declared to have met the invasion from Vaṅga in such an effective manner that the enemy abandoned thenceforth the practice of arms. Anyway, Rāyārideva, the first king of the new line, appears to have given a good account of himself, on this occasion. Vijayasena after his annexation of Vaṅga in about 1112 A. D. appears to have been a frequent aggressor of Kāmarūpa. We can date at least three campaigns. The earliest one appears to have taken place before the death of Rāmapāla in 1120 A. D. In this campaign, Vijayasena conquered more than one country (*jita-Kāmarūpādi-viṣaya. Rāmacaritam*, III, v. 47 ; see also *I. H. Q.* 1943, p.

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137) of which Kāmarūpa was one. Probably the Varmma kingdom of Vaṅga fell in this campaign and one of the last kings of the line of Brahmapāla escaped with loss and defeat.

Vijayasena's next encounter was with Vaidyadeva (1134-1138 A. D.) say about 1136 A. D. The encounter with Rāyārideva came sometime later than 1138 A. D. say about 1145 A. D.

Lakṣmanasena in his Mādhāinagar and Bhāwāl plates (*J. R. A. S. B.* 1942, p. 1 ff.) claims ascendency over the king of Kāmarūpa (*śloka* 11. *op. cit.* p. 30) and in the Mādhāinagar plate he more explicitly claims to have subdued Kāmarūpa by his valour (*vikramavaśīkṛta-Kāmarūpa. Ins. of Bengal*, III, p. 111, line 32). As remarked elsewhere (*J.A.S.B.*, 1942, p. 24) this may refer to the contest with Rāyārideva in the reign of Vijayasena in about 1145 A. D., when Lakṣmaṇasena was a young man of about 23. If it refers to a subsequent conflict in the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena himself, it must be dated after 1178 A. D. and possibly happened during the reign of Udayakarṇṇa, son of Rāyāri.

King Udayakarṇṇa, surnamed Nihśaṅka Siṃha is eulogised in *śloḳas* 6, 7, 8 and 9, containing no historical information. The rest of the charter eulogises Vallabhadeva-śrī-vallabha, and tells us that Vallabhadeva, of versatile, peaceful and military qualities endowed an alms-house (rather, feeding-house, *bhaktaśālā*) in the year 1107 Śaka=1185 A. D. in memory of his mother, by the order of his father. The three kings would thus appear to have reigned approximately according to the following chronology:—

c. 1140—c. 1160 A. D. Rāyārideva.
c. 1160—c. 1180 A. D. Udaya Karṇṇa.
c. 1180— ? Vallabhadeva.

Thus it becomes evident that it was Vallabhadeva or his successor who must be credited with the extraordinary feat of checkmating the uniformly victorious Muslim arms and annihilating the army of the arrogant Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar in 1206 A. D.

The history of this disastrous expedition by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar is known in all its details from Minhajuddin's *Tabaḳat-i-Nasirī* and has been thoroughly discussed in my paper —"Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar's Expedition to Tibet." *I. H. Q.*, IX, 1933. pp. 49 ff. A bare outline is given here supplemented by such corroborative facts, as have come out through subsequent investigations.

After the conquest of Lackhnauti in 1202 A. D., Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar began to inquire about and ascertain the nature of the region to the east of Lackhnauti. He entertained the ambition of conquering Tibet and Turkistan and gathered together an army of ten thousand horse for the purpose. Under the guidance of one

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Ali Mech of the Mech tribe, a convert to the Muslim faith, he marched eastwards from Lackhnauti. He struck the river Brahmaputra at Rāṅgāmāṭi and then proceeded forward by the northern bank of the river. Eight miles west from northern Gauhati, he crossed the Puṣpabhadrā river by a stone-bridge of 21 arches. The Rai of Kāmrūp sent a message here asking Muhammad to go back that year, as that was not the proper season for an expedition to Tibet. In the coming year, the Rai promised all help to Muhammad and offered to precede the Muslim army with his own forces. Muhammad ignored this salutary advice, placed two of his Amirs to guard the stone bridge and struck northwards. After crossing the first line of hills, he got to the plains, where there was a fort. Here he suffered terrible losses in an all-day-long battle with the forces that opposed him, and hearing of more enemy ahead, he turned back. People of Kāmarūpa had, however, followed the scorched earth policy in such an effective way, that the Muslim army could get no food or fodder on the way and kept themselves alive by eating their horses. On reaching the bridge they found that the two guards left there had quarrelled and gone away and two arches of the bridge had been effectively broken by the forces of Kāmarūpa. Muhammad, with the remnant of his forces, took shelter in a neighbouring temple to devise means of crossing the river. Under orders of the king of Kāmarūpa, a multitude of people poured in from all sides and began to make a strong bamboo wall round the temple in order to capture the whole Muslim force. The Muslims realised their danger, made a rush through the bamboo wall and were almost totally drowned in an attempt to cross the river. Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar escaped with only about a hundred followers. The exultant people of Kāmarūpa made a permanent record of the event on a boulder of stone at Kānāibaḍśi, east of northern Gauhati to the effect that in 1127 Śaka, on the 13th of Caitra (corresponding to the 7th March, 1206 A.D.,) the *Turuṣkas* on reaching Kāmarūpa had been annihilated. One only wonders why the reigning king is not mentioned, and we are thus left guessing whether this historic event happened in the reign of Vallabhadeva or his successor.

Minhaj calls the river, by the bank of which the Muslim army marched, by the name of Bāṅgmatī, and says that it was three times as broad as the Ganges. I conjectured in my article above referred to that Bāṅgmatī must be Rāṅgāmāṭi, a well-known place on the Brahmaputra, and the river Bāṅgmatī must be the river Brahmaputra flowing by Rāṅgāmāṭi. I am now in a position to support this reasonable conjecture by a concrete piece of evidence. Mirza Nathan, in his *Bahar-i-stan-i-Ghaybi*, a translation of which by the late

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lamented Dr. M. I. Borah was published in 1936, by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, actually calls the Brahmaputra the Rāṅgāmāṭi river (vol. I, p. 272).

As regards the question whether it was Vallabhadeva or his successor, to whom the credit of repelling the aggressor so effectively, must be given, I am inclined to give it to the successor of Vallabhadeva. The offer to help the Muslim army and precede it with all his forces, if the Muslim leader would listen to his advice and come next year, surely sounds like the promise of a young and energetic king, conscious of his own strength, as well as the strength of the aggressors who had laid the whole of northern India low. But have we any knowledge of such a successor of Vallabhadeva? I am glad to be able to say that we have, and the evidence for the fact is being given here to the learned world for the first time.

In 1939, I succeeded in reading the name of Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarmma on the estampages of the rock inscription at Baḍagaṅgā discovered by Mr. R. M. Nath. The date on it was also read as 234 G.E. = 553-54 A.D. But as some words still remained uncertain, I personally visited the site and took photographs and estampages.

Prof. Birinchi Barua of the Cotton College, Gauhati had been deputed by the Assam Government sometime ago to explore the archaeological sites in the Nowgong district. At the ruined temple-site at Gāchtal, on the way from Nowgong to Davokā, about two miles to the north of Davokā, Prof. Barua had discovered an inscribed pillar. Prof. Barua presented the inscribed stone to the Gauhati Museum, and Mr. Nath sent me photographs and estampages of the Gāchtal inscription for decipherment.

Unfortunately, the inscription is the handiwork of some stone-mason and not of a good scribe. In deciphering the Tezpur plates of Vallabha Deva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. V, p. 182, Prof. Kielhoern had to remark on the tantalizing similarity of two or three different letters and he cited instances. In the Gāchtal inscription, the difficulty has been aggravated almost to a baffling degree by the erratic nature of the formation of the letters. These inscriptions are generally written in ink by a good scribe before being incised. But no hand of an experienced scribe is to be found in the Gāchtal inscription, which appears to have been left entirely to the mercy of the erratic and stiff movement of the mason's chisel. The result has been the production of grotesquely shaped monstrosities and the shape of *ka* in *śaka* in the 3rd line, will, I am afraid, be a nightmare to even a stout-hearted Epigraphist. Added to all these is the total disregard to Sanskrit grammar and spelling, so that the decipherment of the Gāchtal inscription ultimately resolves itself into the solution of a puzzle.

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The inscription is incised on one of the sides of an octagonal pillar of stone, about 2′ 6″ in height, each side being about 3¼″ broad. The inscribed area is about 1′ 8″ in length and the letters are ½″ to ¾th inch long.

There are altogether 24 lines of writing, each line containing on an average about 5 letters. The *language* appears to be *Sanskrit prose*, but I shall not be surprised if somebody ultimately succeeds in discovering rhyme in the composition.

Fortunately, I have, I think, been able to read the name of the king and the date in Śakābda. The inscription was incised in the reign of a hitherto *unknown* king *Srimat Viśvasundara Deva* and is dated, like the other two inscriptions of the period in Śakābda in 1149 Śaka = 1227 A. D. The purport of the inscription appears to be that in that year, one Caṇḍakānta, ordered by the king, repaired some damage done by the Mlecchas to the temple of Śiva on Bull. I read the first three lines as follows :—

1 श्रिमत् विश्व

2 सुन्दरदेव[रा]ज्ये

3 शक ११४ *

The unit of the date is unfortunately damaged and is not clear on the photographs and estampages kindly supplied to me by Mr. Nath. A personal inspection showed that the figure was 9.

Imperfect, baffling and tantalising, as the Gāchtal inscription is, its importance can hardly be exaggerated; because, even in its unsatisfactory nature, it serves to throw light on a field, hitherto completely enveloped in darkness. We know from it the name of a king who was probably the immediate successor of Vallabha Deva of the Tezpur plates of 1107 Śaka = 1185 A.D. As already brought out, the homage of the whole of Kāmarūpa is to go to this hitherto unknown Rai of Kāmarūpa for having protected his motherland against the aggressive Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad and laying him completely low, beaten and repulsed with almost the total annihilation of the invading army on the 13th of Caitra of 1127 Śaka, as known from the Kānāibaḍśī inscription. The new Gāchtal inscription adds one more item of information to the history of Viśvasundara Deva and corroborates, in a most welcome manner, the record of the second Muslim invasion of Assam, as found, in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. In the new Gāchtal inscription, we find Viśvasundara Deva restoring some temple in 1149 Śaka = 1227 A.D. which had been previously damaged by the Muslims. As already shown, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz invaded Assam, probably through Vaṅga i.e, Eastern Bengal in 624 H. which began on Dec. 22, 1226

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A.D. Thus the two records completely agree and support each other. We can now be sure, that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz did invade Kāmarūpa early in 1227 A.D. and of his advance as far as Davokā and Gāchtal in Nowgong district, and of his having destroyed the temple of Śiva at Gāchtal, we have now concrete evidence in the New Gāchtal Inscription discovered by Prof. Birinchi K. Barua. There is a local tradition to the effect that the Muslim army advanced as far as the Garu-kāṭā Pāhāḍ (the cow-slaughter hill) about five miles east of Davokā before being repulsed (*J.A.R.S.*, V, p. 40).

About a quarter of a century afterwards, the Ahoms poured into Kāmarūpa and the successors of Viśvasundara Deva went down before the onrush and finally disappeared from history.

N. K. BHATTASALI

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Pertabgarh

(A Minor State of Rajputana)

The petty principality of Pertabgarh never played any remarkable part even in the history of Rajputana—not to speak of the history of India,—and so the historian of India finds no occasion to refer to its existence. Despite its insignificance from the standpoint of political history its administrative institutions and economic conditions are not without interest to earnest students of Rajput history. In the following pages I have quoted some extracts from a report prepared by a British officer named Lieutenant Dyson, who worked under Sir John Malcolm at the time when the Rajput States, hard pressed by the Marathas and weakened by internal anarchy, were submitting to the suzerainty of the East India Company.[1] The report was submitted to the Supreme Government in 1818. Lieutenant Dyson seems to have been a careful and sober observer; the facts recorded by him, as well as his own observations, are supported by other contemporary sources.

In this report we find a vivid picture of the havoc created in Rajputana by the long-continued depredations of the Marathas. The old institutions of the Rajput States, which had survived their long contact with the Muslims, were crumbling down on all sides under the shock of the Maratha invasions and extortions. The relations between the prince and the nobles, the land system, the revenue system, the military system—everything had been put out of gear. Trade was naturally a principal victim of the consequent anarchy. More serious, perhaps, was the degeneration of national character, culminating in the disintegration of society. It is probably uncharitable to lay the entire blame on the Marathas. Perhaps the loss of liberty and the restraint put upon petty wars during the three centuries of Mughal supremacy had demoralised the warlike and freedom-loving Rajputs and made them incapable of utilising that liberation which the fall of the Mughal empire brought them unasked. In any case, the confusion which Lieutenant Dyson found in Pertabgarh and the neighbouring States was not a local product, nor was it a superficial malady. The same confusion, created by similar causes, prevailed in all parts of Rajputana and Malwa. The strength and majesty of the British empire, working through enlightened and sympathetic statesmen like Metcalfe, Malcolm, and Tod, took long years to eradicate it. In the

1 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 332-38.

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new India created by British arms and Western learning the chivalrous Rajput found himself a misfit. Apart from occasional references to Rajput battalions we hardly hear anything about the Rajputs in an age in which the struggle for liberty has assumed a new shape and a new ideology.

DYSON'S REPORT

Maratha Depredations

The principal object of the Rajah[2] seems to be to get rid of the connection with Holkar. The inconveniences and indignities he and his people suffer from the troops of Holkar are great. He is at a considerable expense for the maintenance of the party of Horse who are now at Pertaubgurh to demand payment of this tribute, which the Rajah really seems unable to discharge, and this is made an excuse for the party to indulge pretty freely in their rapacious habits. The Rajah is anxious to be taken under the immediate protection of the English Government as Oodeypoor, Jyepoor and other States have been; they insist on their having always been considered and treated as independent states. The Rajah wishes to have no connection with any other State whatever and to stand in the same relation now to the English Government as his ancestors stood to the emperor of Delhi. The tribute which is now claimed by Holkar he would be happy to pay us.

The ruler and the nobles

The Rajah hopes to have the assistance of the English Government in sending away those among the Chieftains of his state who are at present disobedient to his authority, and in compelling those who have usurped any of the villages of the Khalsa to restore them. Some of these Chieftains have even begun to levy taxes on all who pass through their districts and many are connected with the Bheels and with them plunder the Rajah's villages. He is also desirous that all disputes between him and the neighbouring States may be decided by the British Government and that we may make some arrangement with the Banswarrah Rajah to prevent those engaged in trade between Pertaubgurh and Guzerat from being molested by the Rajah or by the tribes inhabiting his territories.

It has been an established custom in this principality, when a provision is to be made for the younger sons of the reigning Rajah, to do so partly by alienating some of the Khalsa lands, and partly by resuming a proportion of the lands held by the nobles of the families which are the oldest and consequently the most remote from the reigning

2 He was descended from a junior branch of the ruling family of Mewar.

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Rajah. The Rajah hopes that no complaints on this ground may be listened to by the English Government and, generally, that his subjects may not be encouraged to make their complaints to any but himself.

It appears necessary, to restore any degree of prosperity to the principality of Pertaubgurh, to deliver it as soon as possible from the visits of Holkar's troops and to repress the depredations of the tribes and Chieftains in the Banswarrah District, which have been carried to such a length as to have put a stop to the trade of Pertaubgurh.

The excesses committed by Holkar's troops have caused a rooted hatred towards them in all ranks; supplies that they require they generally take, whenever they can, seldom paying the full price and frequently nothing. This, of course, falls on the classes who are the least able to afford, people who earn their daily food by selling grass, wood etc., and also on the Bunyas of the town. Their continual clamour for money drove the Government to the necessity of exacting contributions from the towns, and so much have they been exhausted by the practice that on a late occasion the men of property collectively threatened to leave the place. The Rajah appears really not to have the means of paying at present even their demands of sustenance. On an occurrence of this kind about 20 days since, Holkar's men occupied the gates of the town for a whole day; as the town is supplied with water from the outside, the people were reduced to very great distress and in the evening a party arming themselves with sticks forced their way out. This Holkar's troops complained of as opposition on the part of the Rajah and threatened to represent it as such to their Government. They appear from all accounts to be irritated at the idea which has prevailed here for some time of Pertaubghur being placed under the English Government and declare that, with the assistance of Bajee Rao, they will yet retain possession of their right. They are much displeased by the reports that Bajee Rao has come to Sir John Malcolm and vehemently deny the truth of it. From these trifling circumstances may be inferred the temper with which they are likely to execute the duty on which they are placed here; the mutual hatred and enmity is such that the people, when they mention the Marhattas, curse them (to use their own expressions, their souls are on fire), and while the Marhattas remain here, they feel as if a knife is ever held to their throat. The amount of tribute demanded annually is 70,000; it was first levied, they say, 70 years ago by Mulhar Rao Holkar, and the Rajah and his people insist that it was levied with an implied agreement that the district should be secured from all other similar demands and that it should be protected by Holkar. They add that, for about 50 years, that is, till the time of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, this was actually the case, and indeed, the situation of that people is rather hard of whose Revenue

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so large a proportion as upwards of 1/6 is taken by a foreign power without conferring any of those benefits and advantages which are the objects of all Government. It is asserted that at the time the tribute was fixed at 70,000 the revenue amounted to 4,00,000, that it is now far below that sum. On account of the visits of the various Marhatta armies that the country has lately been subject to, the Rajah claims at least a temporary reduction in the account, and it is said that on this ground the late Jeswunt Rao Holkar remitted 80,000 for two years. Exclusive of this, and supposing the district to be restored to the greatest degree of order and tranquillity, the Khalsa, the only land that pays the tribute in any considerable proportion, has been so much reduced that what was many years ago a sum they could contrive to pay, can now be paid with great difficulty. On this account the Rajah hopes that some permanent reduction may be made. But whether this be decided in the Rajah's favour or not, and whatever sum it may be ultimately decided that they are to pay, they say that on account of the distressed state of the country, it is absolutely necessary that some temporary indulgence should be granted, that in the 7th year they expect the country will be so far revived that they can then engage to pay it regularly. They understand that an agreement on this plan has been made with the Jeypoor Rajah,[3] though I have some idea that at first 3 or 4 years was the period they talked of.

Anxiety for British protection

The inhabitants are delighted at the prospect of being taken under the protection of the English Government and lament their hard fate in having been so long neglected while other States were enjoying that advantage. The general feeling of the Rajah and his subjects seem to be that, whatever arrangements may be made besides, so long as the connection with Holkar exists, nothing essential to their benefit has been effected, but that if the protection of the British Government were substituted for this, they should be secure of every thing else. A great effect has been made on all ranks by a promise made them by some officer, I think Colonel Russell, that no cows should be killed. Notwithstanding what they have suffered, the people

3 The final arrangement made with Jaipur was as follows: "The first year in consideration of the depopulated state of the country—nothing. The second year—four *lakhs*. The third year—five. The fourth year—six. The fifth year—seven. The sixth year and ever afterwards—eight, until the Raja's revenue should exceed forty *lakhs*, when, in addition to eight *lakhs*, we should receive five-sixteenth of all the revenue above forty *lakhs*." (For British negotiations with Jaipur, see A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 263-294).

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seem very much attached to the Rajah and to the Koonwar Deep Singh and are satisfied that, were he delivered from the fear of the Marhattas, he would not oppress them.

It is now perhaps an object of more importance than ever that some steps should be taken for the relief of the inhabitants, as they would now emigrate with less reluctance to the adjacent States where, they think, they should be certain of finding protection and security. Notwithstanding all they have suffered, there are few towns of this description where the inhabitants appear so rich, and gold and silver ornaments are so much worn by men and women. It is supposed that 50,00,000 have been exacted during the last years, but this is probably an exaggeration, as they say for the few last years about 40,000 has been taken each year.

Disobedient chiefs and Bhils

Some of the dependant Chieftains have taken advantage of the distress of the Government and have thrown off almost all obedience to the Rajah; some of them even levy a tax on all merchandise etc. passing their villages, and others are connected with the Bheels etc. and plunder the Rajah's villages. Several of them, though they outwardly respect the Rajah's authority, share in the profits of those who plunder.

There are only two Bheel Chiefs of any consequence in the District who are in the habit of plundering. These may each be able to collect 1,000 men. There are said to be about 10 Bheel Chiefs of inferior rank who collectively command about 1,000 men.

The Bhils

The connections of these people are very extensive and it is principally to this and the difficulties of the country that they owe their security. However, their dread of the English power is such that they seem willing to submit on a promise of forgiving for past offences and subsistence being made them.

The Bheels are not accustomed to dwell together in any numbers; their villages called 'Pal'[4] consist of huts scattered over the summits of the hills.

It is said by the Rajputs that the reason of their not dwelling together in greater numbers is to avoid being surprised and surrounded.

4 These *Pals* were congregations of detached houses, each built on separate hillocks at some distance from each other. The area under cultivation belonging to a family surrounded the homestead. Each *Pal* thus covered a large area. The jungle on the hills near the *Pals* was allowed to grow, and in case of attack, the Bhils fled into the jungle with their families and cattle. (See Brookes, *History of Meywar*).

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It is more probably owing to their poverty, to the difficulty of procuring subsistence for any number, and to the paucity of their want which do not require the exercise of many acts. They would, if assured of security, easily be persuaded to form villages which would tend to make them drop their predatory habits. They all say that they want subsistence only and that they are at the command of the British Government.

Relations between Prince and nobles

The request of the Rajah that the British Government would not listen to any complaints on the part of the dependant chiefs alluded to a custom that seems to prevail in this and all other Rajpoot States of resuming at pleasure lands which have been granted by former Rajahs to some branch of their families and also to a custom of demanding presents from the Chiefs on the birth or marriage of a son of the Rajah, or when on the death of a Chief the son is installed in his father's rank. As this custom of resuming land has prevailed generally and from the first establishment of these States, it may perhaps be considered as an established law, and as the Chiefs know on what terms they receive the land, their descendants can hardly deny the right of the Rajah to resume some part. It seems, however, that it is usually done on pretence of some misconduct on the part of the chief who is deprived of his land and it will probably be found to be productive of frequent complaint. Perhaps the mode of effecting this object might so be managed as to prevent in some degree any bad consequences, by allowing every chief to retain his lands during life, and as no one is on the death of his father entitled to the rank of Thakoor until invested by the Rajah, by taking advantage of the ceremony to confer only part of the land on the successor. These lands are given by a deed registered on paper, in distinction to those on copper, which latter are considered as investing the right of property more fully in the receiver and his heirs, who have the power of disposing of land so given by sales.

Distribution of land

It seems to be an established principle in these States, Oodepoor etc., to retain ⅓ of the lands as Khalsa, to confer ⅓ on the dependant Chiefs and ⅓ on religious establishments. It is, however, probable that the proportion of religious grants is by no means so great in reality as it is stated, though it is doubtless much larger than it should be when it is considered that the land is completely alienated, that according to their own expression it is disgraceful for the Rajah even to drink water from the wells of these villages.

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Trade and Commerce

Before the present system of disorder and plunder was introduced by the Marhatta armies a considerable trade with Guzerat was carried through Pertaubgurh, from Oodeypoor, Jeypoor, Kota, etc.. which induced a number of Mahajans to settle here and a great revenue was produced from this trade and from the mint. For some years, however, owing to the unsettled state of these districts, this trade has been carried on by circuitous routes of Ratlam. Lately the Rajah, pressed by the demand of Holkar's Government, persuaded the Mahajans to open the trade of the place, and they sent property to the amount of 50,000 which has been seized by the Rajah of Banswarrah, but he restored it after exacting some duty or fine. Since the trade of the place has decayed the Rajah has still continued to levy contributions on the people of the town, till at length all the men of any property who remained declared their determination to leave the place. They were dissuaded on a promise that no more should be exacted, and they engaged that, if measures were taken to enable them to trade with safety to Guzerat, the revenue arising from the commerce should equal what was produced by the system of contributions. The produce of the country exported consists of opium, coarse painted cloth, iron, tobacco. *Goor* and some other articles are brought from Mundeesoor, Rampoorah, and Jawad. Silk cloth of several descriptions, ivory, silver, *Sooparee*, Cocoanuts and spices were imported from Guzerat. Horses were also brought through Pertaubgurh for Hindoostan. All merchandise was escorted by one or two Bheels who received a small sum, and in consequence, trade was never molested by this tribe who confine the depredations to the villages of the Rajah and travellers.

Character of the Raja and his son

The Rajah, Sawunt Singh, gives himself up almost entirely to religious duties; the greater part of his time is occupied in worshiping his images and he appears to pride himself more on the degree of merit he has earned by pilgrimage to Dwaraka than on any thing else. By distributing money daily at Dwaraka and by the expenses of his journey there he has run himself in debt for about 50,000 Rupees.

The Koonwur Deep Singh, to whom the executive authority has been transferred by his father, seems sensible and well-disposed. He is anxious to put a stop to all plunder and disorder in his dominions, and to consult the welfare of his subjects and to meet the wishes of the English Government. His principal adviser is a Jain Pundit named Oomed Ram. He formerly transacted himself all the business of the Revenue etc., but was displeased by the intrigues of the men who now

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possess the chief authority and a large sum of money was taken from him. He is much esteemed and respected by the people and it is said that during his management the Bheels etc. were kept in check in some degree. Though he was in disgrace at first yet the Rajah found himself obliged to take his advice on all occasions. He seems equally desirous with his master to deserve the favour of the English Government. He is a sensible man and has some learning. The Koonwur appears to place great confidence in him. The man who at present holds the chief authority in the town at Pertaubgurh named Rana Ram Bhut is much disliked and much dreaded by the inhabitants, who accuse him of exacting from them larger sums than the Rajah directs. He alone does not seem to be anxious that the connection with the Marhattas should be wholly broken off. He is a dull stupid-looking character and his only recommendation seems to be superior skill in exaction and deceit.

Neither the Rajah nor his son Deep Singh are given to the practice of stupefying themselves with opium and appear, on the whole, to possess a degree of civilization superior to Rajpoots in general.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

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The Visuddhimagga and the Silver Bent-Bars

The *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghoṣa contains an interesting passage on the *kārṣāpaṇa coins*.[1] It shows that the *kārṣāpaṇas* of ancient India were of various shapes. Thus, some were *citravicitra*, that is, of irregular shape; others were *dirgha* or elongated; others, again, *caturasra* or rectangular; and still others, *parimaṇḍala* or circular. The *kārṣāpaṇas* of literature are usually identified with the punch-marked coins of silver and copper, found all over India. It is, therefore, natural to expect coins of all the four different shapes mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa among the extant specimens of punch-marked coins. As Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has rightly pointed out, "there are punch-marked coins which are unsymmetrical in form, that is to say, which have practically no regular shape," and "these most probably are referred to by the term *citra-vicitra*."[2] Many of these punch-marked coins of irregular shape are illustrated in Allan's *Catalogue*.[3] The rectangular punch-marked coins are quite well-known. Indeed, it was at one time widely held that the *kārṣāpaṇas* or punch-marked coins were *par excellence* rectangular in form, and that the circular coins of this class were a later development of the rectangular ones.[4] This view, however, can no longer be accepted as correct. Round as well as rectangular punch-marked coins, often with the same groups of obverse-symbols, have been found together in the same hoard, indicating that they were minted at the same time. The round punch-marked coins are to be identified with the *parimaṇḍala kārṣāpaṇas*, and the rectangular ones with the *caturasra kārṣāpaṇas* mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa. Numerous examples of these are found in Allan's *Catalogue*.[5]

We come now to the *dirgha kārṣāpaṇas* mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is inclined to regard as *dirgha kārṣāpaṇas*, those of the ordinary punch-marked coins that have an elongated shape.[6]

1 *Visuddhimagga* (ed. Rhys Davids), vol. ii, ch. xiv, p. 437: "Yathā hi heraññikaphalake ṭhapitaṁ kahāpaṇarāsiṁ eko ajātabuddhidārako eko gāmikapuriso eko heraññiko ti tīsu janesu passamānesu, ajātabuddhidārako kahāpaṇānaṁ citta-vicittadighacaturassaparimaṇḍalabhāvamattam eva jānāti," etc. Credit is due to Dr. Bhandarkar for having for the first time drawn the attention of scholars to the passage in question. See, *ASR.*, 1913-14, p. 226.

2 Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 148.

3 Allan, *CCAIBM.*, Pls. II-X, XLI-XLII.

4 Smith, *CCIM.*, vol. I, p. 134.

5 Allan, *CCAIBM.*, Pts. II-X, XII-XIII, XLI-XLII.

6 Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lectures*, 1921, p. 148.

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But this identification does not appear to be a happy one. The terms used by Buddhaghoṣa to denote the different shapes of the *kārṣāpaṇas* appear to be mutually exclusive. We cannot, therefore, regard as *dīrgha kārṣāpaṇas*, coins that are perhaps better described as *caturasra*, *parimaṇḍala*, or *citra-vicitra*. Among the so-called elongated specimens of what are ordinarily known as punch-marked coins there do not appear to be any that is not better described as circular, or rectangular, or of irregular shape. Have we then no extant specimens of the *dīrgha kārṣāpaṇas* mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa? We think that we have, but that these are not to be found among the ordinary punch-marked coins. In our view, the *dīrgha kārṣāpaṇas* of the *Visuddhimagga* are to be identified with the "single type" long-bar coins of silver, better known as silver "bent-bars", and found mainly in the Taxila region, since the description "long" or "elongated" seems to fit them best.[7] "These are thick, slightly bent bars of silver stamped with wheel or sun-like designs" on the obverse or concave side, the reverse or convex side being blank. They all bear the same mark, not found on the ordinary punch-marked coins, on the obverse, which is impressed twice on each coin, one at each end of the bar. Strictly speaking, these coins are to be regarded as punch-marked, for the symbols on them appear to have been stamped with separate punches as on the ordinary punch-marked coins. They are, however, commonly designated "bent-bars" because of their convexity. This curvature may have been due to the use of a wooden anvil. Experiments carried out by Dr. Wheeler showed that silver bars of the size and thickness of the "bent-bar" coins, when placed cold on a wooden anvil and struck with hammer and punches, become thus slightly curved.[8]

There are nine specimens of these "bent-bar" coins in the British Museum, of which the heaviest weighs 177·3 grains, and the lightest, excepting one which is much worn, 173·3 grains.[9] The mean weight of the specimens, barring the worn one, is 174·9 grains. V. A. Smith describes three specimens of these coins in the Indian Museum[10] and Mr.

7 Possibly, as suggested by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, the domino-shaped punch-marked coins of silver illustrated in Allan's *Catalogue*, Pl. I, nos. 9-10 are also to be regarded as *dīrgha kārṣāpaṇas*.

8 This observation was made by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, in the course of the Adharchandra Mukherjee Lectures delivered by him at the Calcutta University in 1945, when he illustrated a few of these "bent-bar" coins found by him in the course of excavations at Taxila in 1944-45.

9 Allan, *CCAIBM.*, pp. 1-2, nos. 1-9.

10 Smith, *CCIM.*, I. p. 136, nos. 4-6.

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Bidyabinod, six specimens.[11] Of these nine coins in the Indian Museum, the heaviest weighs 178·3 grains, and the lightest, 165·8 grains, the mean weight being 171·7 grains. Thirty-three coins of this class were found in a large hoard of silver punch-marked coins in the Bhir Mound at Taxila.[12] The hoard also contained "three Greek coins fresh from the mint, two of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaeus, besides a well-worn *siglos* of the Persian Empire."[13] Of these, the heaviest weighs 179·4 grains, and the lightest, 169·5 grains. The mean weight is 175·4 grains. From the above it would appear that the silver "bent-bar" coins followed a standard of about 175 grains.

V. A. Smith is of the opinion that these silver "bent-bar" coins were struck on a 100 *rati* standard.[14] Taking 1 *rati* as equal to 1·75 grains, we get 175 grains for 100 *ratis*, which, as we have seen, appears to have been the standard followed with regard to these coins. Mr. Walsh is inclined to regard these coins as "indigenous Indian coins of the Indian Standard," and would identify them with the *śatamānas* of Indian literature.[15] According to Mr. Walsh, the weight of the silver *śatamāna* was 100 *ratis*. In the law books, however, one silver *śatamāna* is said to be equal to ten silver *dharaṇas* of 32 *ratis* each. The weight of the silver *śatamāna* would, thus, be 320 *ratis* (or 560 grains), and not 100 *ratis* as Mr. Walsh supposes. It is, therefore, not possible to regard the silver "bent-bar" coins as *śatamānas*. It is not likely either that these were triple-*Paṇa* pieces, struck on the standard of 32 *ratis* to the *paṇa* (i.e., *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa*), for such odd multiples of the *paṇa* would be foreign to ancient Indian practice. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has suggested that originally the silver *paṇa* (i.e., *purāṇa* or *dharaṇa*) was of 80 *ratis*.[16] But this suggestion appears to be based on a mistaken identification of the *māṣa* (of gold) with the *māṣaka* (of silver), the former weighing 5 *ratis* and the latter only 2 *ratis*.[17] Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, an author who flourished in the 15th century, mentions that in ancient astronomical works the weight of the silver *dharaṇa* was given as 24 *ratis*.[18] From this Mr. Durga Prasad concludes that "at some period before Manu the *Dharaṇas* were of 24 Raktikās though in his time they were of 32 Rattis", and further adds that "the term Purāṇa used by Manu may refer to these lighter coins, of the earlier period."[19] Mr. Walsh, however, thinks that there is little reason to suppose that all silver punch-

11 Bidyabinod, *Suppl. Cat. of Coins in the Ind. Mus.*, I, p. 8, nos. 127-32.
12 *ASI., Mem.* No. 59, p. 2, and Pl. IV.
13 *ASR.*, 1924-25, pp. 147-48.
14 Smith, *CCIM.*, I, p. 134.
15 *ASI., Mem.* No. 59, p. 3.
16 Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 93.
17 *Manu*, VIII, 131-137.
18 *As. Res.*, V, (1799) S p. 95.
19 *JASB., Num. Suppl.*, 1934, p. 10.

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marked coins were at an earlier date struck on a 24 *rati* standard, as the great majority of these, struck on the nominal 32 *rati* standard namely, of 53 grains, appear to be a survival of the early Indus standard of weights.[20] In his opinion, the 24 *rati* standard was peculiar to the ancient kingdom of Kośala, since the coins of this lighter standard are found in that region and nowhere else.[21] It is, however, possible to argue that the 24 *rati* standard was not confined to Kośala, and that the silver "bent-bars" weighing about 100 *ratis* were quadruple-*Paṇa* pieces struck on this lighter standard, while the smaller coins with the same obverse-mark as the "bent-bars," which Mr. Allan considers to be half and quarter-*sigloi* were the *Paṇa* and half-*paṇa* pieces of this standard.[22] One serious objection, however, to the acceptance of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's evidence that the *dhāraṇa* in early times weighed 24 *ratis*, is that it is late and is not corroborated by either contemporary or earlier authorities. Mr. Allan is inclined to regard the silver "bent-bars" as "struck on a Persian standard," and as double-*sigloi* or 'Persic staters', since their weights are the same as those of the 'Persic staters' issued by the Achaemenid governors in Lycia, Cyprus, etc.[23] The weight of a *siglos* is 86·45 grains Hence, the weight of a double-*Siglos* would be 172·9 grains, which agrees fairly well with the mean weights of the silver "bent-bar" coins. Mr. Walsh thinks that the similarity of weight with the Persian standard is not of itself sufficient evidence to attribute the silver "bent-bars" to a Persian coinage.[24] Several of these "bent-bar" coins, however, bear a small counter-mark on the obverse in the space between the two larger marks. Some of these counter-marks, as Mr. Walsh himself points out, correspond to some of the counter-marks appearing on Persian Darics obtained in Asia Minor.[25] This fact may indicate that the silver "bent-bars" had something to do with the Persian empire. Moreover, as Mr. Allan points out, the coins of this class of which the provenance is definitely known "all came from that part of India which lay within the bounds of the Persian empire, from the end of the sixth to the middle of the fourth century B.C."[26] The fact also that thirty-three of these silver "bent-bars" were found in the Bhir Mound at Taxila along with a well-worn *siglos* of the Persian empire and three Greek coins fresh from the mint, two of Alexander the Great (died 323 B.C.) and one of Philip Aridaeus (died 317 B.C.), probably indicates that they were issued within the period of Persian influence in India. It is, therefore, not unlikely that these silver "bent-bar" coins or *dīrgha kārṣāpaṇas*

20 *JRAS.*, 1937, p. 303.
21 *Ibid.*, 1937, pp. 301-2.
22 Allan, *CCAIBM.*, pp. 2-3, nos. 10-11 and, 12-16.
23 Allan, *ibid.*, pp. xvi, clxi.
24 *ASI., Mem.* No. 59, p. 3.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
26 Allan, *CCAIBM.*, p. xvi.

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were struck on a Persian standard, though they do not appear to be actual Persian issue, from which they differ in many fundamental respects. We are inclined to regard these coins as the indigenous currency of Taxila struck on a Persian standard and issued probably in the fifth century B.C.[27] It is not impossible that these were the *signati argenti* which, according to Q. Curtius, Omphis, king of Taxila, presented to Alexander the Great.

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27 The upper and the lower limits of the date of issue of these silver "bent-bar" coins are probably furnished by the well-worn *siglos* of the Persian empire, and the Greek coins fresh from the mint of Alexander the Great and Philip Aridaeus, found along with them in Taxila. According to V. A. Smith, the silver "bent-bar" coins "may well go back to 500 or 600 B.C." See, Smith, *CCIM.*, I, p. 133.

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The Location of the Tchina Temple and the Original Home of the Imperial Guptas

I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, gives in his work called *K-iu-ja-ko-sang-chuan*, a brief account of the travels of fiftysix Chinese pilgrims who came to India during the middle and the end of the 7th century A.D. One of these pilgrims was Hwui Lun. He came by the land route from the North-West.

The following is the relevant part of the account of his journey as translated by Rev. Beal :—

"He dwelt for ten years in the convent called Sin-che, in the country of Amarāvat. Thence going eastward he visited the convent called Tou-ho-lo-sse, belonging to North India. This temple was originally built by Tou-lo-lo peoples (the Tokhari) for the accomodation of their fellow countrymen. It is very rich and well supplied with all necessaries for food and conveniences, so that no other can surpass it in this respect. The temple is called Gandhārasand. To the west of the temple is another belonging to the country of Kapisa. This temple is celebrated for the learning of the priest of the Little Vehicle. Buddhist monks of the North also dwell here. This temple is called Guṇacarita. To the N.E. of the great Bodhi (the temple just named) about a couple of stages, is another temple called Cālukya. In more recent times a king called Jih-Kwan (Sun-army) built a new temple by the side of the old one which is now getting finished and in which many priests from the South take their residence. Forty stages or so to the eastward of this we come to the Nālandā Temple. First taking the Ganges and descending it we reach the *Mṛgaśikhavana* temple. Not far from this is an old temple, the foundations of which alone remain—it is called the China temple. The old story goes that the temple was built by Śrīgupta Mahārāja for the use of priests from China. At this time there were some Chinese monks, twenty or so in number, who having wandered away from Sz'chuen by the road known as Ko-Yang (?) came out near the Mahābodhi and there offered their worship. The king moved with reverence on account of their piety, gave them a village of considerable extent where they might remain and finally settle—twenty-four places in all. Afterwards the Tang priests having died out the village and its land attached came into the possession of aliens and now three persons belonging to the *Mṛgavana* temple occupy it. This occured about five hundred years ago or so. The territory now belongs to the king of Eastern India whose name is Devavarmā. He has given back the temple and

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its land to villagers to avoid expense of keeping it up, as he would have to do if many priests of China came there.

The *Vajrāsana Mahābodhi* Temple is the same as the one built by a king of Ceylon, in which priests of that country formerly dwelt. Going seven stages or so to the N.E. of this temple we come to the *Nālanda* Temple which was built by an old king, Śrī-Śakyāditya, for the benefit of a Bhikṣu of North India called Rājabhaga. This temple has been completed by a succession of kings, and is now one of the most splendid in India."[1]

There is some difference of opinion regarding the identity of the king Śrīgupta (Che-li-ki-to) of the above account. Dr. V. A. Smith believed him to be identical with the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, but Dr. Fleet rejected the suggestion as this Śrīgupta flourished c 175 A.D. while the founder of the Imperial Gupta line ruled in the fourth century A.D.[2]

A similar view has been taken by C. S. K. Rao Sahib.[3] Allan however upheld the identification saying that "I-Tsing's statement should not be taken too literally. Gupta must have been reigning in the latter half of the third century A.D. or about four centuries before I-Tsing wrote. Considering the lapse of time and the fact that the Chinese pilgrim gives the statement on the authority of a tradition handed down from ancient times by old men, there seems no reason to doubt the identification on chronological grounds."[4] Allan is evidently right, for 318-19 is the year of the accession of Candragupta as paramount sovereign. Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta therefore must have been ruling about 50 years earlier i.e. c. 275 A.D., and that would mean about 400 years before the time of the Chinese writer. The king who donated the land for the Temple of China may, therefore, be taken to be the founder of the Imperial Gupta house.

In order to form an idea of the original extent of the territories held by the Guptas, before they became an imperial power, the accountt given by I-Tsing can be of much help provided we can locate the Tchina temple. Hwui Lun states that the Tchina temple was near Mṛgaśikhāvana. From his itinerary it is clear that both these places were situated between the Kiu-lu-kia temple in the west and Nālandā in the east, for he first describes Kiu-lu-kia temple, then the Tchina temple and Mṛgaśikhāvana, next the Mahābodhi, and then Nālandā. We have no clue to the identification of Kiu-lu-kia or Mṛgaśikhāvana but as the pilgrim is coming from north west and is

1 Rev. S. Beal, *IA.*, 1881, pp. 110-11.
2 *CII.*, vol. III, p. 8, fn. 3.
3 *QJMS.*, XXIV, pp. 218-224.
4 *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, p. xv.

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travelling towards the east naturally he is expected to describe the places in the order from west to east. Therefore the Kiu-lu-kia was 40 stages to the west of Nālandā and Mṛgaśikhāvana lay somewhere between Kiu-lu-kia and Nālandā as is clear from the following statement, "Forty stages or so to the eastward of this we come to the Nālanda temple. *First taking the Ganges* and descending it we reach the Mṛgaśikhāvana temple."[5] We have to note that Mṛgaśikhāvana evidently lay near the banks of the Ganges, for up to Mṛgaśikhāvana the pilgrim simply speaks of travelling along the river and does not refer to any deviation of the road from the course of the river. Now, to the west of Nālandā, and not far from the river Ganges, we have the well-known sacred spot, the Mṛgadāva, or Mṛgavanā, i.e. the Deer Park, modern Sarnath, only 7 miles from Benares. The place called Mṛgaśikhāvana or Mṛgavana by Hwui Lun, is no other than Mṛgadāva, modern Sarnath. As the Tchina temple is stated to be not very far from Mṛgaśikhāvana, it was evidently situated in the Benares district. Since Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta granted some land at this place, it proves his possession of this part of the Gangetic plain. Further, from the itinerary as quoted above we have also seen that it was at the temple of Mahābodhi, i.e. Buddha Gaya that the Gupta king had met the Chinese priests and was 'touched by their piety.' The possession of Magadha, and of the territory along the course of the Ganges, by the early Gupta monarchs is thus clearly proved by the account of I-Tsing and is quite in accord with the general idea given by the Purāṇas, about the original territories of the Guptas, namely that they ruled over Oudh, Bihar and along the banks of the Ganges from Prayāga upto Hardwar.[6]

Dr. D. C. Ganguly, however, has located Mṛgaśikhāvana in the Murshidabad district of Bengal, on the ground that Mṛgaśikhāvana was 40 stages to the east of Nālandā, i.e. 228 miles to the east which would bring us in the Murshidabad district which consequently was the original home of the Imperial Guptas.[7] He seeks further support from the fact that in the time of I-Tsing, the territory is said to belong to the king of Eastern India. As Magadha is included in Madhyadeśa by the Chinese writers, Eastern India must mean Bengal. But a careful examination of the itinerary of Hwui Lun would show that Dr. Ganguly's view is untenable. From the account quoted above it is clear that the Cālukya temple was situated a couple of stages to the

5 *IA.*, (1881) p. 110.

6 अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा। एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः॥.

7 *IHQ.*, vol. XIV, (1938), pp. 532-35.

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north east of the great Bodhi;[8] and Nālandā was 40 stages to the east of the Cālukya temple. The Tchina temple lay between Cālukya temple and Nālandā. As one left the Cālukya temple and travelled eastwards descending the course of the Ganges, he came to Mṛgaśikhāvana, then reached Buddha Gayā, and last of all Nālandā. Dr. Beal has given a slightly different version elsewhere.[9] There after the description of the Kiu-lu-kia (Cālukya) temple the account runs thus, "Eastward, about forty stages following the course of the Ganges we come to the Mṛgaśikhāvana temple." Here the word 'first' has been omitted, and this has created an ambiguity. But in both the accounts the Kiu-lu-kia (Cālukya) temple is described first, then comes a description of Tchina temple near Mṛgaśikhāvana, then the Diamond Throne at Buddha Gayā, and then the temples and monasteries of Nālandā are described. As the Mṛgaśikhāvana, and the Diamond throne are described first in geographical order, they are evidently reached first and lay to the west of Nālandā. In Beal's translations we do not find any basis for Dr. Ganguly's calculations, namely that Mṛgaśikhāvana was 40 stages to the east of Nālandā.

It is also pertinent to remember that Mṛgaśikhāvana, which finds a place in the itinerary of Hwui Lun, must have been a place of great sanctity and importance for the Buddhists. Now this condition is remarkably fulfilled by Sarnath. It was here for the first time that Buddha, delivered his message of peace to the suffering humanity. On the other hand, there is no place in the Murshidabad district which is so important on account of being associated with Buddha, or has any importance in the history of Buddhism.

Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar, has referred to a picture of a *Stūpa* called the Mṛgasthāpana Stūpa of Varendra. This picture has been found in a Cambridge MS. dated 1015 A.D. and on its authority Foucher suggested that Mṛgasthāpana is the original Indian equivalent of Itsing's Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no.[10] This according to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, confirms Dr. Ganguly's view about the location of the Tchina temple and the original home of the Imperial Guptas. Both Dr. Ganguly and Dr. Majumdar have taken Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no as lying to the east of Nālandā. But as shown above, from the itinerary of Hwui Lun, it is clear that it was not only to the west of Nālandā, but also to that of Buddha Gayā, as the pilgrim coming from the North-west first came to Mṛgaśikhāvana, then to Buddha Gayā and afterwards reached Nālandā. Moreover Mṛgasthāpana cannot be the exact Indian equivalent of Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no. Si-kia-po-no

8 This is not Buddha Gayā but another temple called Guṇa Carita. Buddha Gayā is described after Mṛgaśikhāvana and before Nālanda.

9 *JRAS.*, 1881, p. 557. 10 *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 69.

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is evidently nearer *Śikhāvana* than *Sthāpanā*. Further no evidence has been adduced to prove that the Mṛgasthāpanā stūpa of Varendra existed as early as the time of Śrī-Gupta. It may be a monument of much later origin. We have no means to trace its existence before 1015 A.D. Moreover it often happens that old names are transferred to new objects. Thus Gomati was originally the name of the river Gomal in the North-West Frontier Province. Later on a tributary of the Ganges, which flows near Lucknow, was also named Gomati. Corresponding to Mathurā (old Madhurā in Śaurasena) is the southern city, Madura in the Madras Presidency. Kosala was originally the name of the country of Oudh. Subsequently it was applied to the eastern portions of the modern Central Provinces and parts of Orissa. However, in order to avoid confusion it was sometimes called Mahā-kosala also. But the distinction was not always made. For example, Southern Kosala has been called simply Kosala in the Allahabad Stone Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and its situation has to be inferred from the context. Similarly in the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa, the kingdom of the father of Kauśalyā has been simply called Kosala.[11] Evidently it is different from Oudh. In view of these examples it is no wonder that a *stūpa* built in Varendra in the XIth century, was named after the sacred *stūpa* of Mṛgadāva.

The argument that the Tchina temple in later times was under the rule of Deva Varma king of Eastern India, does not mean anything. A ruler of Gauḍa, evidently an eastern province, also held possession of Magadha, as we know from the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja. The sway of the Pālas of Bengal, also extended over Magadha. Therefore even if Deva Varman may be regarded as a king of Bengal, it does not preclude him from holding sway over the Benares district. Therefore there seems to be no strong ground for locating Mṛgaśikhāvana in the Murshidabad district of Bengal. The identification proposed by the present writer in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. XII and now reiterated here is quite in accord with the Purāṇic statement that the Guptas ruled over Magadha, Sāketa and along the Ganges. Since the Purāṇas do not mention Varendra amongst the early possessions of the Guptas, Dr. Ganguly wants that no importance should be attached to them until they are corroborated by authentic evidence."[12] But he has shown no reasons for rejecting the Purāṇic evidence. The mere fact that there are minor variations in some

11 तमलभन्त पतिं पतिदेवताः शिखरिणामिव सागरमापगाः ।
मगधकोसलकेकयशासिनां दुहितरोऽहितरोपि तमार्गणम् ॥ *Raghuvaṃśa*, IX, 17.

12 *IHQ*., XXI, p. 141.

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Purāṇas, is not enough. The majority of the MSS point to the authenticity of the statement regarding the extent of the Gupta empire. The Purāṇic account of the Dynasties of the Kali age was finally written or recast soon after the break up of the Andhra empire. The divisions of the eastern coast of India, represent the state of affairs of this period. The years immediately following saw many changes. The map of India was being rapidly changed. No wonder, therefore, that the Purāṇic account of about 225 A.D. does not tally with the picture presented by the Allahabad Stone Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and that should not make us doubt the authenticity of the Purāṇic texts.

JAGAN NATH

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An Ancient Śaka Dynasty of Māhiṣmatī

In April last Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, the well-known coin-collector and numismatist of Hyderabad (Deccan), sent me good ink-impressions of a copper coin for decipherment and publication. The coin showed the figure of an elephant with up-lifted trunk on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol with *svastikas* on the reverse. It therefore appeared to be of the same type as the Sātavāhana coins discovered in the Central Deccan, viz., at Chāndā in the Central Provinces,[1] Tarhaḷā in the Akolā District of Berar[2] and Koṇḍāpur in the Nizam's State.[3] The legend on the coin did not, however, show any name or part of a name recognizable from the list of the so-called Āndhra kings mentioned in the Purāṇas. I therefore requested Mr. Kaus to send me impressions of any other coin of the same type that might be in his cabinet and he very kindly sent me, first a pencil-rubbing and then good ink-impressions of another coin which have enabled me to bring to light an important ruling dynasty of Central India. I am grateful to Mr. Kaus for his unfailing courtesy in supplying ink impressions of and information about these unique coins.

I reproduce the two coins (called here A and B) below. Coin A, which is larger, is almost square in size, measuring 1″ by ·9″. It has on the obverse the figure of an elephant with uplifted trunk facing right. In the field appears the figure of a *svastika* above the back of the elephant, with the legend running in a circle, beginning at the lower left corner. As the blank was apparently smaller than the die, some of the *akṣaras* have not come out at the lower left and upper right corner. The legend appears to read *-gamānamaha[sa]*. On the reverse is the usual Ujjain symbol each orb of which has a pellet in a double circle with a *svastika* between each pair of orbs. The weight of this coin is 130 grains. Coin B is smaller in size, though somewhat thicker, measuring ·95″ by ·75″. It has the same type on the obverse and reverse, but nearly half the figure of the elephant and some letters at the upper right corner have been cut off. Fortunately, some *akṣaras* in the lower left corner which were missing on Coin A have come out clearly on this coin and the border of the circular die can also be clearly marked on the left. The *akṣaras* of the legend on this coin read *Raṁño*[4] *Sagamāna[ma]*. The weight of the coin is 180 grains.

1 *PASB.*, (1893), pp. 116 f.
2 *JNSI.*, vol. II, pp. 83 f.
3 *ABORI.*, vol. XXII, p. 180, plate XIV.
4 These two *akṣaras* appear very thin and cramped for want of space.

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Coin A

OBVERSE REVERSE

Legend—*gamānamaha*[*sa*]-.

Coin B

OBVERSE REVERSE

Legend—*raṃño Sagamāna*[*ma*]-.

'Putting the two fragments together, the complete legend on this type of coins can be restored as *raṃño Sagamānamahasa*[*sa**], meaning 'This coin is of the king Sagamānamahasa'. The letters appear to be square and broad as in the epigraphs of the Kuṣāṇa age. The forms of the round-backed *g*, *h* with a shortened vertical and the flat-bottomed *m* show that the coins are not much earlier than about A.D. 200. Their Prakrit legend shows, on the other hand, that they could not have been issued later than about A.D. 300.

These coins closely resemble in the following particulars those of the Sātavāhanas which were current in the Central Deccan :—(i) the type 'elephant with up-lifted trunk, facing right' is the same; (ii) the legend commences in the lower left corner and ends in the upper right corner; (iii) the die of these coins was circular as in the case of the potin coins of the Sātavāhanas, though the blank was square; (iv) many of the older symbols such as the triangular standard and the flattened rings on a vertical rod noticed on the older Sātavāhana coins[5] are conspicuous by their absence, but the *svastika* still remains and is seen between the orbs of the Ujjain symbol as on the oldest Sātavāhana coin. These similarities leave no doubt that the type was imitated from that of the later Sātavāhana issues and must have been intended for circulation in the territories which were previously held by the Sātavāhanas.

Do we know of a king of this name as a successor of the Sātavāhanas? While seeking for such a name among the Purāṇa texts, I came across the following hemistich in a section[6] of the Purāṇas which, according to Pargiter, mentions 'the dynasties of the third century A.D.'

शक्यमानाभवद्राजा महिषीणां महीपतिः ।

The resemblance of the name Śakyamānā to Sagamāna at once arrested my attention and the general agreement of the age when the two kings flourished suggested that they might be identical.

5 See, *e.g.*, the copper coin of the king Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty which I am publishing in the next number of the *JNSI*.

6 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

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The royal name *Sagamāna* on the present coin is evidently the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit name Śaka-māna. The change of surds into sonants (*e.g.*, of *k* into *g*)[7] is recognized by Prakrit grammarians and is occasionally met with in Prakrit epigraphs. Pargiter no doubt gives the name as Śakyamānā, but the Purāṇas supply several variants such as *Śakyamā, Śākyāmāna, Sākshonāmā, Śaṅkamāno* and *Śakyamīmā*. From all these variations Pargiter adopted *Śakyamānā*. It is difficult to understand why Pargiter preferred the reading in *ā* to that in *a* (*Śakyamāna*) which would have suited the metre equally well (*Śakyamāno' bhavad rājā Mahiṣīṇāṁ mahīpatiḥ*). Even in the first part of the royal name there is likely to be a mistake, for the Purāṇas are found using *Śakya* for *Śaka* elsewhere also.[8] The correct name may therefore have been *Śakamāna*, of which we find the Prakrit form *Sagamāna* on the present coins.

There is likely to be a similar mistake in the latter part of the hemistich cited above. The reading *Mahiṣīṇāṁ mahīpatiḥ* which Pargiter has adopted would apparently mean 'the king of crowned queens'. This meaning being altogether inappropriate, Pargiter has rendered the expression as 'the king of Mahisīs', but he has not explained who are signified by the Mahiṣīs.[9] A manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa* gives the reading *Mahiṣyāṇām mahīpatiḥ*, which, on the analogy of *Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārājaḥ*[10] would suggest that Mahiṣya was a dynastic name. It corresponds to the Prakrit name *Mahasa* (with the usual omission of vowels), forming the latter part of the legend on the present coins.

The coins were therefore issued by the king Śaka-māna of the Mahiṣya (or Mahiṣa) dynasty. That this king rose to power after the Sātavāhanas is clear from the statements in the Purāṇas as well as from the type of his coins which, as shown above, were imitated from the potin issues of the later Sātavāhanas. This king may previously have been an officer or perhaps a feudatory of the Sātavāhanas, but

7 See, *e.g.*, *maragata* (for *marakata*), *loge* (for *loke*) and *pājugā* (for *pādukā*), *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIV, p. 14. Cf. Hemacandra, VIII, 1, 177. In Apabhraṁśa which was the language of the Ābhiras and others (such as Śakas) (cf. Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 36) the change was very common. *Ibid.*, VIII, 4, 396.

8 For instance, in place of the reading *Śakāś=c=āṣṭādaś=aiva tu* adopted by Pargiter, some MSS. of the *Matsyapurāṇa* read *Śakyāś=c=āṣṭādaś=aiva tu*. Pargiter, *Dynasties* etc., p. 45, n. 12.

9 In the introductory note to this section (p. 48) Pargiter gives epigraphic references to Māhiṣatī (Māhiṣmatī) which indicate that he thought the Mahiṣis to be residents of that city.

10 This expression occurs in the description of every king of the eldest branch of the Vākāṭakas. See e.g the Tirodi plates, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, pp. 171 f.

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he later on declared his independence in token of which he issued his own coinage. He had evidently a fairly extensive dominion, for he is one of the few kings of the historic period to be named in the Purāṇas. It may not also be wrong to infer that he was the founder of a dynasty which may have continued to flourish for some generations.

The first part of the royal name Śaka-māna shows clearly that the king belonged to the Śaka race. The Purāṇas tell us that like the Ābhīras, Gardabhins, Yavanas, Tuṣāras and others, the Śakas were the servants of the Āndhras (i.e., of the Sātavāhanas) and rose to power after their downfall.[11] This statement has been proved to be correct so far as the Ābhīras are concerned; for we have an inscription[12] of an Ābhīra king named Īśvarasena in one of the Nāsik caves, referrable on palæographic and linguistic grounds to the post-Sātavāhana age. We have also an era started by the Ābhīras in A.D. 249[13] in Northern Mahārāṣṭra which soon spread to Koṅkaṇ and Gujerat. This corroboration of the Puranic statement about the Ābhīras suggests that what they say about the Śakas may also be true. Like the Ābhīras, the Śakas also may have carved out a principality for themselves out of the ruins of the Sātavāhana empire.[14] The Śaka king Māna was probably their leader and the founder of this new Śaka kingdom.

Where was this Śaka Māna ruling? The Puāṇas, which name him, do not, unfortunately, mention the country under his sway. The context shows, however, that he must have flourished somewhere in Central India; for he is named together with the Maghas and Nalas of Mekalā and Kosalā (i.e., South Kosala).[15] All these kings flourished more or less in the same age. It is now known that the Maghas rose to power after the fall of Kuṣāṇas, in *circa* A.D. 140. The Nalas came into prominence slightly later. Like the Maghas, the Śaka king Māna may have reigned in Central India. Besides, his family name Mahiṣya or Mahiṣa points to his connection with Māhiṣmatī, the ancient capital of the Anūpa country. The country under the rule of his descendants came to be known as Māhiṣaka. The *Rāmāyaṇa* couples *Māhiṣaka* country with Vidarbha and Ṛṣika. While directing the monkeys where to search for Sītā, Sugrīva asked them

11 आन्ध्राणां संस्थिते राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वया नृपाः। सप्तैवान्ध्रा भविष्यन्ति दशाभीरास्तथा नृपाः॥ सप्तगर्दभिनश्चापि शकाश्चाष्टादशैव तु॥ Pargiter, *Dynasties* etc. p. 45.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, pp. 88 f.

13 My article on this era will soon appear in *ABORI*.

14 Pargiter thought that the statement refers to the Nahapāna and his successors, but this is unlikely for the latter were ruling contemporaneously with the Sātavāhanas.

15 Pargiter, *Dynasties* etc. p. 51

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to go to Vidarbha, Ṛṣīka and the charming Māhiṣaka.[16] Vidarbha is well-known as the ancient name of Berar and the Marathi-speaking parts of the Central Provinces and the Nizam's State. I have shown elsewhere[17] that Ṛṣīka was the old name of the Khandesh District. Māhiṣaka which is grouped with these two must have been the name of the country which bordered Vidarbha and Ṛṣīka on the north, *i.e.*, of the modern Nemāḍ Districts of the Central Provinces and the Indore State. It seems therefore that the capital of the Māhiṣakas was Māhiṣmatī which is generally identified with Oṅkār Māndhātā in the Nemāḍ District of C.P.

The Purāṇas state that the Śakas who succeeded the Āndhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas) were 18 in number and ruled for 380 years.[18] Some manuscripts of the Purāṇas say that the kings were only ten in number. There may be similar discrepancies in the years of their rule,[19] but it seems certain that this dynasty of the Śakas ruled at Māhiṣmatī for several generations. It was probably the rise of these Śakas in Central India which led to the disappearance of the Western Kṣatrapas from Malwa. It has been pointed out that the potin coins of the Western Kṣatrapas which were intended for circulation in Malwa suddenly came to an end in *circa* A.D. 240.[20] Malwa seems therefore to have been lost to the Kṣatrapas about the middle of the third century A.D. It has been suggested that the reason for the contraction of the Kṣatrapa power was the rise of the Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti.[21] We have, however, no evidence of the extension of the Vākāṭaka power north of the Narmadā in this early period, while we have the evidence of the present coins and the statement in the Purāṇas testifying to the rise of the Śakas in Central India in that age. It was therefore probably the Śakas who, led by their king Māna, drove the Kṣatrapas away from Malwa.

The Purāṇas do not, unfortunately, name any successors of the Śaka king Māna. They seem to have been subdued by the Ābhīra emperors whose suzerainty they were forced to acknowledge. The era of A.D. 249-50 seems to have been introduced into the Anūpa

16 आम्रवन्तीमवन्तीं च सर्वमेवानुपश्यत। विदर्भानृषिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि॥ *Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa,* canto 41, v. 10.

17 *ABORI.*, vol. XXV, p. 168.

18 शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च शका ह्यष्टादशैव तु। Pargiter, *Dynasties* etc. p. 46.

19 In the Introduction (xxiv) to his *Dynasties* etc. Pargiter discusses the meaning of the expression denoting the period of Śaka rule and takes it to signify 183 years.

20 Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc. (B.M.C.), Introd., p. cxxxiii. This is also the view of Dr. Altekar. See *A New History* etc. p. 54.

21 Mazumdar and Altekar, *A New History of the Indian People,* p. 54.

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country as an indication of Ābhīra supremacy and continued there in use long after the disappearance of the Ābhīras as an imperial power. The Purāṇas assign only a period of 67 years to the rule of ten Ābhīra kings which appears to be too short. Perhaps the correct period was 167 years as suggested by me elsewhere.[22]

One of the Śaka feudatories who ruled in this period was *Mahā-daṇḍanāyaka* Śaka-Śrīdharavarman whose stone inscription recording the excavation of a well has been found at Kānakherā near Sāñci in the Bhopal State.[23] That Śrīdhara was a Śaka by extraction is clear from this record; for like Māna, he prefixes Śaka to his own as well as his father's name.[24] He therefore probably belonged to the dynasty founded by Śaka-Māna and like him, may have ruled from Māhiṣmatī. He seems to have had a fairly extensive kingdom stretching over Anūpa, Eastern Malwa and possibly Western Malwa also, though he does not mention any high-sounding royal title in his epigraph.

The Kānakherā inscription has been composed in good Sanskrit kāvya style which shows that Śrīdharavarman flourished some generations after Śaka-Māna whose coins, like those of the Sātavāhanas, bear a legend in Prakrit. The Kānakherā inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of Śrīdharavarman's reign, which does not help us to determine the period in which he flourished; but the record contains another date at the end, the reading and interpretation of which have, unfortunately, not been certain. R. D. Banerji who first edited the record, took the symbols following the verse at the end as signifying the year 201 which he referred to the Śaka era and took as equivalent to A.D. 279. N. G. Majumdar on the other hand thought that what looked like numerical symbols were only interpunctuation marks. There are a few damaged letters following these symbols which Majumdar read as *saṁ 200 40 1*. He too referred this date to the Śaka era and took it as equivalent to A.D. 319. Whatever might be the correct reading of the date, the attribution of it to the Śaka era is not likely to be correct; for there is no other early date coming from either Eastern or Western Malwa which is recorded in that era. It seems best to refer the date to the Ābhīra era commencing in A.D. 249, which, as I have shown elsewhere[25] was current in the Anūpa country for a long time.

Mr. Banerji seems to be right in taking the sign following the

22 *ABORI.*, vol. XXV, pp. 166 f

23 *Ep. Ind.* vol. XVI, pp. 230 f.; *JASB.* (N.S.), vol. XIX, pp. 337 f.

24 See शकनन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरवर्म्मणा in line 2 of the Kānakherā inscription.

25 *IHQ.*, vol. XXI, pp. 80 f.

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concluding verse in the Kānakherā inscription as a numerical symbol,[26] but the latter signifies 100, not 200.[27] It is followed by two horizontal strokes,[28] one below the other, signifying the unit figure 2. The date of the epigraph is thus 102, which being referred to the Ābhīra era becomes equivalent to A.D. 351-52.[29]

Śrīdharavarman thus was not an upstart as has been supposed.[30] He belonged to the Śaka dynasty founded by Māna. He had a fairly extensive kingdom comprising at least Eastern Malwa and Anūpa. He may have nominally acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ābhīras, but he was, to all intents and purposes, an independent ruler, for he makes no mention any overlord in his inscription.

The Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions Śakas and Muruṇḍas as border chiefs who submitted to the mighty Gupta emperor. The Śaka chief is usually taken to be one of the Western Kṣatrapas of Kathiawad, but the kingdom of the Kṣatrapas lay far in the west. Samudragupta who proceeded to conquer the countries of the south by the Baghelkhand-Bilaspur route does not seem to have penetrated to Kathiawad or even to Western Malwa.[31] The Śaka chief who paid homage to Samudragupta was therefore probably Śrīdharasena or his successor. He seems to have been confirmed by the Gupta emperor in the possession of Malwa which he continued to hold until he was dispossessed by Candragupta II. The latter's occupation of Eastern Malwa is known from several records[32] at Sāñci and Udayagiri near Bhilsā.

26 Mr. Majumdar took this as an interpunctuation mark, but no such symbol is noticed elsewhere as a sign of punctuation. On the other hand it has clearly the appearance of a numerical symbol denoting 100. See *e.g.*, the symbol denoting 300 in the Ābhoṇ Plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, Pl. facing p.297.

27 The horizontal stroke which converts the symbol for 100 into one for 200 is not noticed in this case. See the plate facing p. 232 in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI and Plate 139, 61 in the *Monuments of Sanchi*, vol. III, by Marshall and Foucher.

28 The unit symbol is clearer in the plate of Marshall and Foucher. The damaged letters which follow may be remnants of *svasty-astu* as suggested by D. C. Sircar.

29 This is according to the epoch of A.D. 248-49 which suits early dates of the era. The year is supposed to be expired.

30 Majumdar and Altekar, *A New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 55.

31 This is also the view of Dr. Altekar who points out that the Kākas and Sanakānikas of Eastern Malwa were the western neighbours of Samudragupta. See *A New History* etc. p. 69.

32 See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 5 and 6. In No. 6 it is stated that

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If the number of Śaka rulers mentioned in the Purāṇas is correct, Śrīdharavarman's descendants may have continued to rule at Māhiṣmatī for some more generations. Subandhu, the ruler of Māhiṣmatī whose copper-plate[33] discovered in the Barwāni State is dated K. 167 (A.D. 416-17), was probably one of them. He does not of course mention his Śaka extraction, but that was probably because the Śaka rulers had, in the meantime, became completely Hinduised. Even Śrīdharavarman, though he calls himself Śaka, was a Hindu by religious faith; for he was a worshipper of Svāmi-Mahāsena and hoped to secure heaven by means of the charitable work of excavating a well. Had it not been for the racial name Śaka prefixed to his father's and his own name, none would have even suspected that he was of foreign extraction.

Subandhu's descendants may have continued to hold Māhiṣmatī for some years more. If Pargiter's interpretation of the Puranic statement[34] about the duration of Śaka rule is correct, the dynastic change may have occurred in *circa* A.D. 433. In any case when the Vākāṭaka Narendrasena (*circa* A.D. 450-70) extended his suzerainty to Mālwa,[35] he must have annexed the intervening kingdom of Anūpa. Thereafter the country of Anūpa was governed by a scion of the Vākaṭaka family. The narrative in the eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracarita*, which appears to have a historical basis,[36] shows that the last Vākāṭaka emperor (probably Hariṣeṇa) had placed one of his sons on the throne of Māhiṣmatī. Soon thereafter the country was occupied by the Kalacuri Kṛṣṇarāja[37] in *circa* A.D. 550.

The Śaka dynasty founded by Māna thus flourished for about two centuries from *circa* A.D. 250 to *circa* A.D. 450.

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Candragupta II had come to Udayagiri in the course of his conquest of the whole world.

33 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, pp. 261 f. For the date of this record see my article 'The Age of the Bāgh Caves' in *IHQ*, vol. XXI, pp. 80 f.

34 शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च शका भोक्ष्यन्ति वै इमां। Pargiter takes this period to be 183 years. See discussion in his Introduction, pp. xxiv f. If the Śakas, like the Ābhīrs, rose to power about A.D. 250, their dynasty may have ended in *circa* A.D. 433.

35 See the Bālāghāṭ plates of his son, Pṛthiviṣeṇa II, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 271.

36 See my article, 'Historical Data in Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita*,' *ABORI.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 29 f.

37 Kṛṣṇarāja's descendants who ruled from Māhiṣmatī used the Ābhīra era of A.D. 249 in all their records, evidently because that era was well established in their home province of Anūpa. This will show that the stone inscription of Śrīdharavarman who previously ruled at Māhiṣmatī is also probably dated in the same era.

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Cintapallipāḍu Inscription of Gāṇadeva*

This inscription is the earliest Gajapati record discovered in the region to the south of the river Kṛṣṇā. The text has not been published by the Department of Epigraphy. With a desire to study it I and Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma visited the village Cintapallipāḍu which is five miles off from Guṇṭūr and got an estampage of the same. The stone on which the inscription was incised, is very rough and the inscription is also badly damaged. This fact is noted by the Epigraphy department also in their annual report for the year 1917. It is engraved on a Hanumān pillar opposite to a small temple in that village. On enquiry the villagers informed me that that pillar was originally found in the compound of a private individual and was subsequently erected opposite to the temple by the villagers.

The alphabet of the inscription is Telugu and resembles that of inscriptions of the 14th century discovered in the coastal Telugu country. With the exception of the benedictory verse at the commencement the inscription is in Telugu prose. The inscription records grant of lands to God Rāmacandra of Cedaluvāḍa by one Gāṇadeva Rautarāya, a servant of Rāghaveśvara, and a worshipper of the feet of God Gōpīnātha, and the '*parīkṣa*'[2] of Koṇḍavīḍu, Addaṅki, and Vinikoṇḍa.

The date of the inscription is Śaka 1376 corresponding to the cyclic year Bhāva.[3] The grant was made on the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha (i. e. 12th April, 1454 A. D.).

This inscription gives no details about the pedigree of the donor. The Koṇḍavīḍu plates[4] dated Śaka 1377 (1455 A. D.) also mention one Gāṇadeva, the Viceroy of Koṇḍavīḍu. As this Koṇḍavīḍu grant was issued just one year after the inscription under review there is every possibility that the donor of both these records to be one and the same person. If so, he is of the solar race, born of Guhideva pātra, son of Candradeva. The plates further mention that Gāṇadeva

* This inscription No. 70 of 1917 was noted and reported by the Government Epigraphy Department in their annual report. The text was not published.

1 I am very much indebted to Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma for his valuable suggestions and for the help he rendered to me in taking the impression.

2 The term 'parikṣa' seems to have been applied to denote a provincial governor during the rule of the Gajapatis.

3 The date is irregular. According to *The Indian Ephemeries* the weekday is Friday and not Thursday.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XX, pp. 391 ff.

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was a relative of the Gajapati king Kapileśvara of Cuttack and that in 1455 A. D. he was ruling over the Koṇḍavīḍu rājya as his viceroy. The present inscription which is earlier to the Koṇḍavīḍu plates by one year, also mention him to be the '*parīkṣa*' of Addaṅki, Vinikoṇḍa and Koṇḍavīḍu. It is to be explained how he came into possession of these places by 1454 A. D.

As evidenced by the Vijayanagara inscriptions at Siṁhācalam[5] and Dākṣāram[6] dated Śaka 1350 (1428 A. D.) and Śaka 1366 (1444 A D.) respectively, the region to the north of the Kṛṣṇā may be said to have been under the political influence of the Vijayanagara rulers. Devarāya II ruled Vijayanagar till Śaka 1368 (1446 A. D.) By Śaka 1376 (1454 A. D.) the date of our Cintapallipāḍu record, this region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā already came under the authority of the Gajapati king Kapileśvara. How did he come into possession of these places? What was the condition of the Vijayanagara kingdom during the period between Śaka 1366 (1444 A. D.) and Śaka 1377 (1454 A. D.)? What circumstances favoured the Gajapati's conquest of these parts? These questions are to be answered.

Kapileśvara Gajapati who came to power in Śaka 1356 (1434-35 A. D), started on a career of conquest after consolidating his power and position at home. However, by Śaka 1365 he subdued and brought under his control the region as far as Korukoṇḍa[7] in Vizagapatam District. Now in Śaka 1366 (1444 A. D) we find an inscription of the Vijayanagara general Māllappa Oḍeyar at Dākṣāram. It seems from this that the Vijayanagara ruler sent his general Mallappa Oḍeyar to check the advance of the Gajapati monarch. Whether their armies came into conflict with each other or not, we have no definite information. But we have reason to believe that a battle was fought and the Gajapati ruler sustained a defeat. While describing a later attack upon Vijayanagara by the combined armies of the Gajapati and Hayapati, Gaṅgādhara in his drama *Gaṅgādāsapratāpa-vilāsam* says that they who were defeated before (*Pūrvaparā-bhūtābhyām*) had come there to wipe off former disgraces. If this statement is correct this 'former defeat' of the Gajapati, which Gaṅgādhara refers to in his work, might have been sustained by the Gajapati Kapileśvara about Śaka 1366 in the Rājahmundry region at the hands of Mallappa Oḍeyar.

Devarāya II died in Śaka 1368 (1446 A. D.) and taking advantage of the confusion caused in the capital by his death, Kapileśvara seems to have occupied Rājahmundry, because an inscription[8] of Kapileśvara from Penugoṇḍa in the Godāvari District dated Śaka 1370 mentions

5 Ep. Coll., No. 293 of 1899.
6 Ep. Coll., No. 442 of 1893.
7 Elliot's *Collection*, vol. I, p. 177.
8 Mac. Mss. No. 15-4-4.

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that, it was under the Gajapati rule. During the period between Śaka 1370 and Śaka 1376 (1448-1454 A. D.) we do not come across any inscription either of the Gajapati or of Vijayanagara in the region between the rivers Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā. We do not definitely know anything about the rulers who held sway over this region during this particular period.

It is definitely known that the region to the south of Kṛṣṇā was under the authority of the Vijayanagara rulers till Śaka 1375 (1453 A.D). This is borne out by the evidence of many inscriptions[9] of the Vijayanagara rulers themselves and of their officers. One such inscription[10] at Koṇidena (in Narasarāopet taluk, Guṇṭūr district) dated Śaka 1374 records that Muḍivemula China Tippā Reḍḍi exempted taxes on *srōtriyam* lands, marriages etc., in Koṭṭedona and other villages of Vinikoṇḍa Sīma which belonged to him. Another record[11] from the same place dated Śaka 1375 also records some gifts by Muḍivemula Parvata Reḍḍi. These Muḍivemula chiefs must have been subordinate officers under Vijayanagar, for a record[12] from Mārutūr in Guṇṭūr district dated in Śaka 1375 (Śrīmukha, Bhādrapada Śu 15 Sunday) records gift of taxes called '*Srōtriya Kaṭnālu*' by Mallikārjuna Deva of Vijayanagara.

We cannot definitely fix the date of Gajapati occupation of this region. The occupation must have taken place between Śaka 1375 Śrīmukha, Bhādrapada Śu. 15, Sunday and Ś. 1376 Bhāva, Vaiśākha Śu. 15 Thursday the date of the Cintapallipāḍu record, that is between 19th August, 1453 and 12th April, 1454 A.D.

In this connection it may be interesting to note that there is a *cāṭu* verse current in Telugu country enumerating the conquest of forts in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā by the generals of the Gajapati. From this verse we come to know that an officer under Kapileśvara

9 Ep. Coll., No. 473 of 1915; Ep. Coll., No. 339 of 1932-33 etc.
10 Ep. Coll., No. 373 of 1915. 11 Ep. Coll., No. 371 of 1915.
12 Ep. Coll., No. 386 of 1915.
13 Vārilō=Damma-bhūpati-mauḷi-dōrdaṇḍa
tata -bala-sāmagri=darame yenna
Daṇḍimai Bellamukoṇḍa Sādhiñcenu
praudhi gelcenu Raṅgarājukoṇḍa
Tribhuvani-rāy=ānka- dipita Rāvu Simganamu parājitugan= onarcen=
Ani Śaran= anna Bāhāti Khānuni gāce=
batu- śakticēn=Oḍapalli goniye
Kathinaripujāla-bhayada-vikramamu=galigi
prājya-sāmrājya-Vibhava-dhūrvahata=ganiyen=
aura asmad=Vaśiṣṭha-gōtr=āvaniśa-
Kōṭik=ātanḍe mēṭi-kṛiṭi-Vibhuḍu.

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named Tamma Bhūpati of the Pūsapāṭi family captured several forts in this region and among them were Bellaṃkoṇḍa Vāḍapalli and Raṃgarājukoṇḍa Further the *cāṭu* verse says that he defeated Rāvu Siṅga and that he gave protection to one Bāhāti Khān after defeating him.

Bellaṃkoṇḍa mentioned in the *cāṭu* verse was a hill fort, which is not far off from Vinikoṇḍa one of the places mentioned in the Cintapallipāḍu record.

Vāḍapalli:—This is situated near the confluence of the river Kṛṣṇā and the Mūsi in the Nalagoṇḍa District of the Hyderabad State. We learn from inscriptions of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī from the Nandigāma taluk, Kristna District, that Vāḍapalli was a Bahmanī stronghold, and Nizām-ul-Mulk, one of the two slaves of that Sultān was the governor of that place during his reign. During the reigns of 'Alāud-Dīn II Bahmanī the king's brother-in-law Jalāl Khān held this fief of 'Nawalgooṇḍ', obviously Nalgoṇḍa. According to Ferishta he rose in revolt during the reported illness of the Sultān, and occupied several places around his fief which he entrusted to his son Sikandar Khān. The *cāṭu* verse quoted above mentions that Tammabhūpati took Vāḍapalli and Bāhāti Khān to whom he is said to have given protection, must have been a Bahmanī official though we are unable to identify him. Gāṇadeva in his Koṇḍavīḍu plates[15] claims victory over two Muslim generals, whose names are not given and as a consequence he got the title 'Rautarāya'. It may not be improbable that one of these chiefs might have been Bāhāti Khān referred to in the *cāṭu* verse.

Tribhuvanīrāya Rāo Siṅga mentioned in the same *cāṭu* must be as the title signify, a Velama chief of Rājukoṇḍa. The contemporary Velama chiefs of Kapileśvara Gajapati were Siṅga of Devarakoṇḍa and his cousin Sarvajña Siṅga III. During this period these chiefs were the subordinate allies of Bahmanī Sultāns. If the information supplied by *Vlugoṭivārivaṃśāvali*[16] can be relied upon, then Liṅga of the Recerla family claims to have defeated Sikandar Khān, and restored the authority of the Bahmanī Sultān. Rāo Siṅga referred to

14 Ep. Coll., No. 305 of 1924. 15 *Ind. Ant.*, XX., p. 391, ll. 19-20.

16 Liṅga scaled the wall of the hill fort of Bhuvanādri by the side of Sultān "Alā-ud-Dīn. He ejected forcibly Sikandar Khān from his territory and took possession of it." Introduction to *Velugōtivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* by Dr. N. Venkataramanaiah p. 31. In this connection the author's remarks about the *Sisamkālika* describing Liṅga's exploits is worth noting. He says 'To form a correct estimate of the part he played in the affairs of his won age it is necessary to scrutinize the list of the conquests and the victories embodied in the *vaṁśāḷ* and sift carefully the deeds for which he was actually responsible, *Ibid.*, p. 31.

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in the *cāṭu* verse is no doubt identical with Sarvajña Siṅga III, and he suffered defeat at the hands of Tamma, probably in the campaign against Vāḍapalli.

Another place mentioned in the *cāṭu* verse quoted above, is 'Raṅgarājukoṇḍa'[17]. It is also on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā and was under Bahmanī Sultāns. Tamma Bhūpati captured this place also in his campaigns.

After the conquest of this territory a new province was formed with the three important forts of Addaṅki, Vinikoṇḍa and Koṇḍavīḍu mentioned in the inscription under review and over that Gāṇadeva was appointed *'Parīkṣa'*.

TEXT

1 Sri [||*] Jayaty=aneka-nāk=ā
2 di-lōkapāl=ōpalālitam [|*]
3 Cadaluvāḍa-Pur=īndrasya
4 Rāmacandrasya śāsanam ||.
5 [Swa*] sti [||*] Śrī Śubha Śakavarṣaṃbulu
6 ^3ze agu neṇṭi Bhāva sam [va]
7 t [s*]ra Vaiśākha Śu ^× Gu. Śrī Rā
8 [gha] veśvarula dāsuṇḍu Śrī ma [tu*]
9 Srīnāta[1] devagaṇa Gōpinā
10 tha Caraṇu Śaranu [||*] Koṇḍḍa
11 Vīḍu[2] Addaṅki Vinikoṇḍa
12 Parīksa Śrī Gāṇadeva
13 Rauturxaya[3] mahā
14 pātrulu setārka [ta*]
15 raka [ṃganu][4]
16 ī Koṇḍavīti - Cada -
17 luvāḍa Śrī Rā [gha] veśvaru
18 luku - vela[5] ... ... 22.

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17 'Śrīraṅgarājukoṇḍa is on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā. According to Ep. Coll., No. 306 of 1924 *Yejedi* Maluka was sent to rule over that territory by Nizām-ul-Mulk of Vādapalli—Wazirabad—*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1924*, Part II, p.

1 Read 'Śrīnātha.'
2 Read 'Koṇḍavīḍu.'
3 Read 'Rauturāya.'
Read .'Candr=ārka-tārakaṁ-gānu."
5 The remaining line is not legible.

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The Main Aspects of the English Policy in Bengal in the 17th Century

(i) *Attitude towards the Mughal Government*

Unlike the Dutch and the French East India Companies,[1] which were more or less state-ridden, the English East India Company (originally named as 'the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies'), was, from the very outset, a private association of the merchants of London, and had been formed with the avowed object of trade with the East. It remained, therefore, for about a century a non-political, non-territorial and purely commercial body.

The English in the 17th century looked upon the Mughal emperor at the Centre as the paramount power in India. Captain Hawkins[2] in 1608 and Sir Thomas Roe in 1615 paid him visits. The latter remained as accredited ambassador from the king of England at the Mughal court at Āgra for about four years, and by his tact, wisdom and foresight, succeeded in securing certain trade privileges for his employers. During his stay at the Court he had seen, understood and judged the policy and practice of the Mughal government; and was able to formulate a policy for the Company which was to be unaggressive and wholly mercantile. It is known as the 'Roe Doctrine which he explained thus :—

'It is the beggaring of Portugal, notwithstanding many rich residences and territories, that he keeps soldiers that spend it, yet his garrisons are mean. He never profited by the Indies, since he defended them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek plantation here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock, they prowl in all places, they possess some of the best; yet their dead pays consume all their gain. Let this be received as a rule that *if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade; for without controversy, it is an error to effect garrisons and land wars in India.*'[3]

This neutral and pacific attitude remained the *summum bonum* of the English policy for seventy years. It enabled the company to make

1 The Dutch, the English and the French East India Companies were founded in 1597, 1600 and 1664 respectively.

2 As a British Ambassador. He remained at Agra till 1611 and obtained for the English permission to settle at Surat.

3 *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, (ed. W. Foster), vol. ii, p. 344.

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rich profits by their Eastern trade and distribute high dividends at Home.

Roe had pointed out that for all kinds of concessions, the Company should approach the Mughal emperor direct without seeking the favours of the Provincial Viceroys; and it literally followed his advice.

In 1633 they received a mandate[4] from Shāh Jahān authorising them to trade in Bengal,[5] though their enterprise was confined to the port of Pipli. In 1644 Dr. Gabriel Boughton,[6] a surgeon of the Company, cured a royal lady at Āgra, whereupon his services are said to have been rewarded with the grant of the concession of a free trade in Bengal. Another cure of a lady[7] in Bengal whom Prince Shujā[8] was anxious to bring in his *harem*, enabled them to secure permission to build Factories at Balasore[9] and Hughly.[10]

In 1661 some differences arose between the English and Mīr Jumlā, Nawāb of Bengal, but they were soon patched up by the timely intervention of a Company's servant from Madras.[11]

In 1672 Sāistā Khān[12] confirmed the former concessions in return for an annual receipt of Rs. 3000/- and warned the local officers in Bengal and Orissa against any oppression of the English.

4 It ran thus:—The second present we received from Agra is the king's *Firman* which gives liberty to trade unto us in his whole country of Bengal but restrains our shipping only unto the port of Pipli, which *firman* was sent unto us by servant of our own which was departed to Agra.'—Extract of a letter of Mathevald & Co.: sent Home in 1633 from Surat.—*History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army by Capt. Broom Stuart*, Appendix i.

5 It may be pointed out that the Bengal of the 17th comprised Bengal proper, Behar, Chhota Nagpur, Orissa and a part of Assam. It was in 1912 that Behar, Chhota Nagpur and Orissa were separated and formed into a new Lieutenant Governor's Province.

6 Prof. J. N. Sarkar's *Padsha Nama; Hedges Diary*, (ed. Yule), II, p. 168. But Ray, in his *'Early Annals of the English Settlements in Behar'* does not give credit to the services of Dr. Boughton. He had not, he thinks, that stuff in him of which heroes of romance are supposed to be composed. He cared more for his own private trade than for the interests of his nation; and left a heavy legacy of debt he had incurred in the name of the Company. Sir Henry Yule, editor of *Hedges Diary*, too, subscribes to these views. Dr. Wilson, author of *'The Early Annals of the English in Bengal'* also agrees with him.

7 Elphinston, *The Rise of British Power in the East*, p. 56.

8 Son of Shāh Jahān and Viceroy of Bengal.

9 Built in 1642.

10 In 1652.

11 Mill and Wilson, *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 70.

12 Who had succeeded Mir Jumlā to the Governorship of Bengal. For his order please refer to Stewart's *History of Bengal* (1847 edition) Appendix, p. 111.

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William Hedges, who was anxious to protect the English trade from the oppressions of the Nawāb and the other local officers, was convinced that the imperial '*firmāns*' or local agreements were of no avail in the face of open lawlessness, and that self-preservation and fortification would be their only safeguard.

'We must protect ourselves,' he said, 'we must break with the Indian Government,' we must seize some convenient port and fortify it.'[13]

In 1685, when Shāista Khān imposed customs duties and demanded the same from the English, they resolved to resist the demand. The Court of Directors at Home, too, endorsed their decision and wrote to the Agent and Governor of the Company in Bengal thus :—

'Since the native Governors have taken to trampling upon us and extorting what they please of our estate from us, by the besieging of our Factories and stopping of our boats upon the Ganges, they will not, however, forbear doing so till we have made them as sensible of our power, as we have of our truth and justice, and we after having deliberations, are firmly of the same opinion and resolve with God's blessing to pursue it.'[15]

In 1686 they despatched a fleet of ten armed ships and from 12 to 70 Guns, under the command of Admiral Nicolson. It carried 6 companies of 100 soldiers each.[16] It was to cut off the Mughal shipping and declare war on the Mughal Government.[17]

But as the Mughal Government was strong enough to make its pressure felt by these handful of dashing foreigners, the English expedition failed to effect anything. Rather it led to the evacuation of Bengal by the English.

In 1690 peace was concluded between the Mughal Government and the English Company as a result of which Aurangzēb granted the English pardon and issued the following *Firmān*:—

'All the English having made a most humble submissive petition that the ill crimes they have done may be pardoned and promised to pay a fine of Rs. 150,000, to restore all plundered goods and to behave themselves for the

13 Appointed in 1681 by the court at Home as the Chief Agent and Governor of the English affairs in Bengal—*Hedges Diary*, ii, p. 17.

14 R. C. Wilson, *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, p. 80.

15 Letter from the Secret Committee to the Agent and Governor of Bengal—*Hedges Diary*, ii, p. 151.

16 Mill and Wilson, *History of British India*, vol. i, p. 84.

17 *Hedges Diary*, ii, p. 52.

18 Then Governor of Bombay. He had been entrusted with the task of exhausting the Mughal Government, and he had ordered the stoppage of the Muslim ships on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

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future no more in such a shameful manner' the emperor accepts their submission and grants them a new license for trade, and condition that Mr. Child[18] who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled.'[19]

The English returned to Bengal; but this time they settled at Sutanati[20] which soon after became their headquarters.

The policy of aggression, upon which they had temporarily embarked, brought home to them the utter weakness of their position and warned them against the repetition of their folly. Thenceforth they tried, as best they could, to keep their hands off the Indian affairs and to make no direct efforts to fish in the troubled waters of Indian politics, till at last, the so-called Black Hole tragedy dragged them into an open conflict with the Nawāb and finally conferred on them the sovereignty of the Province.

The attitude of conciliation, which remained the *esprit-de-corps* of the English policy for long, was not without its attending merits. The Company's trade throve in the length and breadth of the province, as a result of which the Company gained considerably in strength and prestige. The period of over half a century of peacefulness was, however, utilized by astute observers to mark the current of Indian politics and to observe, with a sort of sitting-on-the fence attitude, the rise and fall of contending parties.

Soon after the death of Aurangzēb in 1707, which meant practically the beginning of the end of the Mughal empire, phantom kings began to succeed to the Imperial throne in quick succession. The English hastened to strengthen Fort William in Bengal. In 1713 some differences arose between Murshid Kulī Khān[21] and the Company's Governor in Bengal on the imposition of an annual duty,[22] whereupon an embassy, John Surman and Edward Stephenson, was sent to Delhī with presents. These presents, after a good deal of delay and hesitations as to whom they should be delivered, were finally offered to Farrukh Syer who had managed to win the throne[23] by that time. But the rotten state of the Mughal empire was no longer hidden from the view of the English.

In short, the external policy of the English in Bengal continued changing with the passage of time. In the early stages their blind obedience to the rule of the Mughal Government brought untold calamities upon them. They had to make heavy payments to both the

19 Stewart, *History of Bengal*, Appendix vii (Translation).

21. Deputy Nawāb of Bengal.

22 He ordered them either to pay the same annual duties of 2% on their merchandise or make constant renewals of presents to himself and his officers.

23 On January 4, 1814 the Deputy Governor received instructions from Farrukh Syer to avoid interference with the freedom and privileges of the English Company. Wilson's *Annals*, Pt. I, p. 23.

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provincial governors and local officers not only for themselves but also for the Centre. Later on, when they decided to resist, a semi-official war ensued which resulted in their defeat and subsequent departure with bag and baggage from Begnal. On their re-establishment at Sutanati in 1690, they realised that the fortification of their establishments was a surer weapon than the despatch of embassies or presents, in their dealings with the Mughals. With the construction of Fort William[24] at Calcutta their position became secure. They had by then grasped the essentials of a strong government, viz., discipline and organisation; and they rooted their footing in India overtly so that, when they finally met the Nawāb of Bengal in the battle-field[25] long afterwards, they were not a mere handful of dashing foreigners but a full-fledged aggressive power.

(ii) *Dealings with the people of the Province*

The English had come to Bengal in 1633 primarily for trade purposes. They had therefore, to deal with the people more freely than with the local officers. They were ignorant of the Indian dialects, habits and customs, and experienced great inconvenience in reaching the villages far inland for the sale of their own goods and the purchase of Indian articles.

In order to surmount these difficulties they engaged Indian *Gomāshtās*[26] who served them almost as living advertisements. They would go to distant and out-of-the-way villages, dispose of English articles and purchase Indian goods for them. They received 3% as brokerage on all goods sold or purchased on behalf of the English. But as the silk of Kāsimbazār and coarse cloth and *tussar* cloth of Hughly were in great demand for export to England, the weavers from far off villages were offered higher wages and many other facilities and thus induced to settle in Kāsimbazār and Hughly.

The Indians were employed for household services as well, e.g., as cooks, washermen, butlers; and they served their English masters faithfully even when the relations with the Nawāb were far from friendly. Later on, when they were permanently settled in Sutanati, their comparatively better system of administration and high sense of justice drew most of the population of the neighbouring villages thither, as it was constantly made the victim of lawlessness and oppression that had ensued during the closing years of Aurangzeb's life.

These dealings brought the Englishmen and the Indians into closer contact with each other; and, for over a century, the former yielded to

24 Its erection began in 1696 and reached completion in 1700.
25 Of Plassey in 1757. 26 Brokers.
27 *Hedges Diary*, ii, p. 106; Hamilton's *East Indies*.

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the latter's influence, and were to a considerable extent orientalised in their habits and outlook.

(iii) *Social Influence on the Early English Settlers*

The early English settlers in Bengal had very little to engage them in their off hours. There were 'no race course, no hotels, no restaurants and no theatres'.[27] 'Card-playing, dancing and other pastimes were expressly forbidden under pain of dismissal'.[28] There was no provision for family life, hence the Company's servants were forbidden to bring their wives and children with them.[29] They were not well-provided with books, the few that were occasionally sent from Home were of a religious character. They only provided a dry, dull and insipid reading. Outdoor games were also rare.

In order, therefore, to pass their leisure happily and to keep themselves full of spirits, they mixed freely with the Indians who came in contact with them. Their free social intercourse exercised a healthy influence on both the peoples. There was a mutual exchange of ideas and customs. Many Englishmen adopted Indian customs, social etiquettes and even Indian superstitions.[30] Job Charnock[31] is said to have married an Indian lady and lived a happy family life with her. The Indian wives played no inconspicuous part in Indianising their English husbands.

In matters of dress[32] the Englishmen for sometime adhered to their national costumes, for Sir Thomas Roe had convinced them that an Englishman would win respect in India more easily by observing his national customs than by leaving them. But in course of time they altered their dress in order to suit the climate and environment. Many of them adopted light and easy clothing of the Muslim noblemen. They are said to have put on muslin shirts and starched white caps. 'Pomp and display outrode comfort and economy. Even the youngest writer, notwithstanding his poor salary, would imitate the oriental grandee in the matter of retenue, palanquin and umbrella.'[33]

The diet of the English people also, to a great extent, changed. Mutton, roasted after the rich oriental fashion, provided a favourable dish for them. They gave up many of their national dishes and substituted Indian dishes in their stead. When away from their factories, they dined sitting on carpets.

28 Court Letters of January 17, 1679.
29 Rawlinson's *British Beginning in Western India*, p. 19.
30 Ovington's *Voyage*, p. 101.
31 The founder of Calcutta.
32 Arnold Wright, *Early English Adventurer in the East*, p. 313.
33 Ray's *Early Annals of the English Settlements in Behar*, p. 55.

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Many Englishmen took to *Hukkā* smoking,[34] and this habit continued right up to the time of Warren Hastings.[35] 'After dinner when the cloth is taken away, *Hukkā*, which is a glass filled with water to which the smoke of the tobacco is drawn, is set before the party.' 'Fishing and fowling, rambling, hunting and night visits to friends were their pastimes.' More often than not these Englishmen would go out into the gardens adjacent to their factories in the cool of the evenings and pass a congenial hour or two amid flowers and fruits before taking their evening meals. The tropical climate of the province compelled them to sleep in open in summer. Their chief exercise was shooting at butts and rambling in gardens.[36]

But as time passed gambling and drinking became common-place pastimes of the people in the English factories.[37] There were youths, who lost at 'dice,' lance, knights or cards, two or three years salary in as many hours. One famous delinquent is said to have parted with £1,000 in one night. For years many fine young Englishmen came out to India merely to swell the Indian grave yards or to return Home feeble-bodied, yellow-complexioned, prematurely old men, mere wrecks of manhood.[38] These vices resulted in frequent quarrels and free fights among the Company's servants.

The Englishmen had become to all intents and purposes Indianised in their habits. Had this process of mutual borrowing continued uninterrupted, it is probable, India would not have seen a race of foreigners who later on began to avoid Indian company and by so doing alienated much of the sympathy and regard of the Indian people. But in social relationship as in all scientific phenomena, every action is followed by a re-action. When the English people in India were transformed from the state of mere traders into a well-constituted and organised Government, they were infused with the idea of superiority complex; and, with a view to preserving their racial individuality, they became more and more socially exclusive and in many cases supercilious. The process of free social intercourse gave place to one of rigid 'ostracism.' The two peoples which had happily begun to understand each other, fell apart because the ruling class wished to preserve its prestige and racial distinction. To locate the exact date of this process is rather difficult, because the process of changes in ideas and outlooks is imperceptible. But it may be said to have begun when the English people had been in the country for over a century, and had assumed some

34 Stabbornion's *Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 245.
35 Appointed Governor of Bengal in 1772.
36 Arnold Wright, *Early English Adventurers in the East*, p. 310.
37 Court Book and Calendar of State Papers, 1600-60.
38 Ray's *Annals*, p. 58.

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indirect control over the administration of the country. One need not dwell on the harm that this cessation of social intercourse brought in its train. Suffice it to say that the 18th century witnessed the beginning of a bureaucratic and superior attitude. This process continued till, after the battle of Plassey, the English became the virtual masters of Bengal. The assumption of fresh power entailed their correspoding confinement to a small society of their own. The age of free contact was gone, the age of bureaucratic control had ensued.

KH. A. HAYE

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Date of Subhāsitamuktāvalī

Prof. G. V. Devasthali in his *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛta Manuscripts*[1] in the Library of the University of Bombay describes a MS of सुभाषितहारावली of हरि (No. 2266) as follows:—

"The *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* (or simply *Hārāvalī* is an anthology containing about 200 verses divided according to the compiler's own account, into 32 chapters (*Maṇis*). In our MS, however, only 13 are clearly marked. The colophon at the end reads *Subhāṣitamuktāmaṇi* as the title of the work, which is obviously incorrect. This work[2] is noticed at Peters., Report II, No. 189, where it is ascribed to Hari Kavi, brother of Cakrapāṇi. Hari Kavi was a poet of the Deccan and acquainted with the literature of the whole of India. He quotes from Akabarīya Kālidāsa (a poet patronised by Akbar) and from Jagannātha Paṇḍita's *Bhāminīvilāsa*. He cannot, therefore, have flourished before the latter half of the 17th century A. D. See Krishn. p. 387 f." The foregoing remarks roused my curiosity because I had read in 1935 the only MS of सुभाषितहारावली of हरि कवि (*No. 92 of A 1883-84*) available in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. Through the favour of Dr. P. M. Joshi, Librarian, University Library, Bombay, I got on loan the MS of "सुभाषितहारावली of हरि" described by Prof. Devasthali. On examining this MS I found that it was entirely a different text from that available in the B. O. R. I. MS *No. 92 of A 1883-84* and consequently its chronology, as suggested by Prof. Devasthali's remarks perhaps on the presumption that the Bombay University *MS No 2266* and the B. O. R. I. MS *No. 92 of A 1883-84* are identical, is also wrong.

The Bombay University *MS No. 2266* is dated *Śaka 1707* (=A. D. 1785) and though this date harmonises with the chronology suggested

1. Vol. II, 1944, p. 772

2. The *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of Hari Kavi, brother of Cakrapāṇi is represented by the only MS in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute viz. *No. 92 of A 1883-84*. This सुभाषितहारावली has nothing to do with the "सुभाषितहारावली of हरि" described by Prof. Devasthali. Evidently Prof. Devasthali has not read my paper on "*Hari Kavi, alias Bhānubhaṭṭa, a court-poet of king Sambhāji and His works* (शंभुराजचरित composed in A. D. 1685 हैहयेन्द्रचरित and its Commentary, and सुभाषितहारावली). See *Annals* (B. O. R. I), vol. XXVI (1935), pp. 262-291.

The MS mentioned by Peterson in his *Report*, II, p. 189 is identical with *No. 92 of A 1883-84* (सुभाषितहारावली of हरि कवि). It consists of more than 150 folios.

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by Prof. Devasthali there is another evidence which contradicts it. In fact there is a MS of an anthology called सुभाषितमुक्तावली in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute viz. *No 819 of 1886-92*. It is identical with the Bombay University *MS No 2266*. The text of this MS is identical with that of the Bombay University MS. It begins with "॥श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्फुर्जन्मोहमहान्धकार etc" The colophons of the different chapters or *Manis* in this Ms begin with "इति सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां in the following manner :—

Folio 3—"इति सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां[3] हरेर्गुणग्रामवर्णनो नाम प्रथमो मुक्तामणिः"

Folio 4—"इति सु॰ मुक्तावल्यां लक्ष्मीप्रशंसनो नाम द्वितीयो मुक्तामणिः"

It would appear from these colophons that the title of this anthology is सुभाषितमुक्तावली, though in the first three verses[4] at the beginning the author tells us that he has strung together this हारावली of different मुक्तामणिs. Whatever be the exact title of the work, whether सुभाषितमुक्तावली or सुभाषितहारावली, one thing is clear that this anthology is in no way connected with the सुभाषितहारावली of हरि कवि alias भानुभट्ट, the court-poet of the Maratha king Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji the Great.

The following table shows the topics of the 32 chapters of this anthology;—

3. The Colophons of the Bombay University MS No. 2266 also mention the title of the anthology as "सुभाषितमुक्तावली" (see folios 2 and 3 of this MS).

In the *Catalogue of Indic MSS in U. S .A.* by H. I. Poleman, 1938, p. 106 he mentions a fragment (No 2229) of a work called सुभाषितमुक्तावली (folios 3-1) I cannot say if this work is identical with the anthology before me.

4. I quote below the first 3 verses of the anothology :—

"॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥

स्फुर्जन्मोहमहान्धकारनिकरप्रद्योतनद्योतिनीं
वाद्वेवीमतिवंद्यवंदितपदां वृंदारकाणां गणैः ।
शास्त्रांभोनिधितः सुभाषितमयानुद्धृत्य मुक्तामणी-
न्कण्ठालंकरणाय निर्मलधियां वध्नामि हारावलीम् ॥१॥

पूर्णा गुणैः स्फुरदनल्पमरीचिभाजो दोषोज्झितप्रकृतयः परमर्थिमंतः ।
उन्मीलितार्थविलसत्कमनीयवर्णा द्वात्रिंशदत्र कविना मणयोवगम्याः ॥२॥

मुक्तामणिभिरमीभिर्ग्रथिता हारावली या भाति ।
प्रत्येकं किल नाम्ना त एव मयोभिधास्यंते ॥३॥

Verses 4 to 13 describe the contents of the 32 मुक्तामणिs or chapters and end with the remark "इति ग्रन्थानुक्रमणिनिरूपणं".

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Chapter	Contents	No. of verses
1	हरेः गुणग्रामवर्णनं	14
2	लक्ष्मीप्रशंसनं	13
3	लक्ष्मीधिक्करणं	7
4	धनिनां धनप्रशंसनं	14
5	कृपणकार्पण्यवर्णनं	25
6	दातॄणां दानवर्णनं	16
7	दुर्विधजनदीनत्वं	26
8	कर्मपरिपाकनिरूपणं	32
9	सज्जनसौजन्यवर्णनं	45
10	दुर्जनजनदौर्जन्यनिरूपणं	31
11	विद्याप्रशंसनं	9
12	संपत्तिचलाचलत्वनिरूपणं	3
13	प्रीतिप्ररोहवचनं	19
	प्रीतिप्ररोहवचने गाथा	5
14	प्रियवियोगे नितंबिनीवचनानि	11
	कांतावियोगे भर्तृवचनानि	7
	वियोगसंयोगयोः उपाख्यानं	4
15	दुःखितजनस्य दुःखनिरूपणं	11
16	ललनागुणोल्लसनं	19
		311

Chapter	Contents	No. of verses
17	माध्वीकवैद्रूल्यं	13
18	कामविलासवर्णन	17
19	प्रश्नोत्तरप्रहेलालेखनं	22
20	नृपसेवनं	17
21	हंसाष्टकसंकथनं	11
22	मधुकरमातंगयोः अवस्थानिदर्शनं	8
23	राजनीतिदर्शनं	55
24	आशीर्वचननिरूपणं	25
25	धर्माधर्मनिरूपणं	9
26	परकामिनीपरित्यजनं	13
27	क्रोधनिरूपणं	5
28	महतां महिमोत्करवर्णनं	23
29	वीरविक्रमणं	11
30	कलिकाल(कोटिकालनं केलिकलनं)	9
31	जननीजनवात्सल्यं	5
32	सुभाषितामृतस्वादनिरूपणं	6
		249

It will be seen from the above table that the total verses of this anthology come to 311+249=560. The MS ends as follows:—

"संवत् षड्दशाशीतितमे[5] वर्षे चैत्रमासे शुक्लपक्षे द्वितीयायां श्री ...ग्रामवासिनो जी... प्रयागस्य सुतवेणिना.....मुक्तामणिः ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥"

I interpret the chronogram षड्दशाशीति as equal to *Saṃvat 1680*= A. D. 1623 and this date harmonises with the present condition of the MS and its calligraphy.

The authorship of the anthology is ascribed to हरि by Prof. Devasthali. I have failed to find any mention of this author in the B. O. R. Institute MS *No. 819* of *1886-92* or the Bombay University *MS No. 2266*, which is incomplete. If the date *A. D. 1624* of the B. O. R. Institute MS of the work is correct we may reasonably infer that this anthology was composed prior to A. D. 1600 and consequ-

5. This date viz. *Saṃvat 1680* (चैत्र शुक्ल द्वितीया) will correspond to *Monday, 21st April 1623* (vide *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. VI. p. 48).

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ently it would be an anachronism to connect it with Hari Kavi who composed his *Śambhurājacarita* in A. D. 1685.

The earlier limit to the date of this anthology can be fixed if we can find in it some datable verses. Unfortunately this anthology does not record the names of the authors or works, to whom it is heavily indebted for its 560 verses. Incidentally one श्रीनिवासकवि is referred to on folio 3 in the following verse at the end of chapter 2 (हरेः गुण-ग्रामवर्णनं) :—

"नाभितस्तव सरोजभूरभूत् तत्सुतेयमबला सरस्वती ।
तत्प्रसादलवलेशगर्विताः श्रीनिवासकवयोऽपि किं विदुः ॥१४॥"

Scholars who have closely studied the history of our *Subhāṣitas* may be able to identify this verse and its author श्रीनिवासकवि. Without a comprehensive *Pratīka* index to all Sanskrit *Subhāṣitas*, their chronology must remain vague and undetermined. It is hoped that some of our research institutes would devote their attention to the compilation of such a *Pratīka* index, which would provide a compass to those who navigate in this ocean of *Subhāṣita* literature. Many problems of literary chronology will be solved automatically by such a *Pratīka* index and strengthen the work done in this field by individual workers like myself.

Before closing up this paper I record below the MSS of anthologies bearing the name सुभाषितमुक्तावली :—

Aufrecht makes the following entries in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* regarding सुभाषितमुक्तावली and its MSS :—

C C., T. p. 728—सुभाषितमुक्तावली
—K 66.[6]
—B. 2. 112[7]
—Ben 40[8]
—N P V, 184[9]
—Gu 4[10]
—Peters. 3, 397[11]
—B P 57. 263[12]

6. Kielhorn : *Cata. of C. P. MSS*, 1874, p. 66—MS No. 79 सुभाषितमुक्तावली—25 leaves—560 *Slokas*—dated Saka 1705 = A. D. *1783*
7. Bühler's *Cata. of MSS in Kathiawar, Gujarat etc.* Fasc. II
8. *Cata. of Benares Sanskrit College MSS* (1864-74)
9. *Cata. of N. W. Provinces MSS, Part V*
10. *Report on Gujarat MSS* by Bühler (1871-72)
11. Peters. *Report* III, p. 397—This MS is same as *No. 368 of 1886-92* in Govt. MSS Library (B. O .R. Institute)—6 folios
12. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report for 1883-84*, p. 263—This MS is same as *No. 92 of 1883-84* (शृङ्गारालाप from सु. मुक्तावली) dated Samvat 1612 = *A. D. 1556*

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—By पुरुषोत्तम – Ben 35

—By मथुरानाथ—N W 606

C C., II, 174—सुभाषितमुक्तावली

—Peters 4. 31[13]

—Stein 175[14]

CC. III, 150—सुभाषितमुक्तावली

—Peters 6. 367[15]

Cf. the Mss of the सुभाषितमुक्तावली recorded above. Only the following MSS are available to me at the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :

(1) *No. 368 of 1884-86*—folios 6—called सुभाषितमुक्तावली in the Colophon—Begins with अथ सिंहान्योक्तयः

(2) *No. 367 of 1895-98*—folios 9—dated Samvat *1841* (=*A. D. 1785*)—called सुभाषितमुक्तावली in the colophon—Begins अथ सिंहान्योक्तयः—Same text as that of No. *368* of *1884-86*.

(3) No. *92 of 1883-84*—folios 82—शृङ्गारालाप of सुभाषितमुक्तावली—Begins—"ॐ ॥ नमो श्रीमकरध्वजाय ॥ सरस्वति नमस्तुभ्यं वरदे कामरूपिणी। etc" —Ends :—"इति श्रीसुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृङ्गारालापे एकादशमशतं समाप्तम्"– dated *Samvat 1612* (=A. *D. 1556*)

(4) No. *95 of 1871-72*—folios 45, dated Samvat *1780* (=A. *D. 1724*) —Begins :—"स्फुर्जन्मोहमहांधकार etc."—Text is the same as that of *MS* No. *819 of 1886-92* described by me already in this paper.

It will be seen from the above remarks that MSS Nos. 1 and 2 are identical. No. 3 is different from No. 4 and Nos. 1 and 2. We have now the following dated MSS of the सुभाषितमुक्तावली which forms the subject of this paper :—

1. Bombay University MS. No. 2266 (fragment) dated A. D. 1785
2. B. O. R. I. MS No. 819 of 1886-92 (complete) ,, A. D. 1623
3. Do No. 95 of 1871-72 (complete) ,, A. D. 1724

In view of the above manuscript material for the anthology under reference, any scholar interested in Sanskrit anthological literature can undertake a critical edition of it and procure MSS from other sources as well, if available.

P. K. GODE

13 Peterson's *Report*, IV p. 31—This MS is same as No 819 of 1886-92 dated samvat 1680=A.D. 1624– folos 51 (in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

14. Stein's *Cata. of Jammu MSS*. 1894—p. 75—No 541—सुभाषितमुक्तावली —leaves 43—complete in modern Kashmeri Script.

15. Peterson's *Report, VI*. This Ms is same as *No. 367 of 1886-92* dated Samvat 1841 (*A. D. 1785*).

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MISCELLANY

Kāca Problem Solved

In a paper entitled 'Kāca—a step brother of Samudra Gupta', published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*,[1] I ventured to suggest that Kāca of the gold coins was the step-brother of Samudra Gupta on the authority of a Pauranic text, which was originally quoted by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar in his *'History of classical Sanskrit literature'*. Later Dr. B. Bhattacharya published a paper on the said Pauranic text in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*[2] and came to the same conclusion about Kāca.

Now, in a note in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*[3] Sri Nalini Nath Das Gupta has discussed the historicity of the said Pauranic text, which is said to be an extract from *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* of the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* and has concluded thus about Kāca: 'Kāca was thus at best seven or eight years old when he sat with his father on the Magadhan throne. After another seven years i.e. when the age of Kāca was 14 or 15, he is said to have been slain, along with his father and other relatives, by his half-brother, Samudra Gupta. And we are wanted by one more scholar to believe this Kāca of the Purāṇa, a quite minor lad, is the *Sarvarājocchettā Kāca* of the coins. When Dr. Alteker says that 'it is not unlikely that inspite of mistake of these doubtful tradition the statement that Kāca was another son of Çandragupta may be true' it is also a tacit assumption of the probability of the coins being issued by the youngster!'

Since R. C. Majumdar in his paper 'A forged Purāṇa text on the Imperial Guptas'[4] has proved beyond doubt the spurious nature of the said Pauranic text, it is moot to discuss the subject on its authority. But I may point out that in the said Pauranic text, there is nothing to suggest that Kāca was an youngster of seven or eight years, as it is clearly mentioned in the text that 'Candragupta with the help of his son Kāca, born of his *Licchavi* wife, drove out the Āndhras from Magadha.[5] There is nothing in the text to show that Kāca cannot be the *Sarvarājocchettā Kāca* of coins.

Again concluding his note Sri Das Gupta says that 'the Kāca problem stands today, exactly where it stood before the publication of Dr.

1 *JNSI.*, vol. V, pp. 33-36.
2 *JBORS.*, vol. XXX, p. 1 seq.
3 *IHQ.*, vol. XX, pp. 351-52.
4 *Ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 345-50.
5 आन्ध्रेभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसह्याऽपहरिष्यति ।
काचेन स्वेन पुत्रेण लिच्छवीयेन संयुतः ॥

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Bhattacharya's interesting but not illuminating paper.' Here I do not agree with him. I think he has missed my paper, wherein I have substantiated the fact that Kāca was the step-brother of Samudra Gupta on an evidence from *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.[6] Referring to the history of Samudra Gupta and his times the chronicle observes that he had a younger brother named Bhasmam or Bhasma. No doubt there is some confusion in the narrative, for the Bhasma is credited with extensive conquests; however, there is an admission that the author knew of a tradition which stated that Samudra Gupta had a brother who contested the throne against him.[7] The tradition appears to have made a confusion about the name of that brother and the period of his reign, but it will have to be accepted that Samudra Gupta had a brother who ruled—though for a short period; and that brother was none but Kāca.

Lexicographers like Apte and Monier Williams support my contention. According to them Kāca is synonymous with Bhasma (ashes). They give 'Alkaline ashes' as one of the meaning of the word '*kāca*.' The author of *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, who is well known for his partiality to mystify the names of the historical characters, may well have deliberately called Kāca as Bhasma.

In view of this strong evidence, I think scholars will agree with me that the problem of Kāca is solved.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

6 *JNSI.*, vol. V, pp. 149-50.

7 तस्याधरेण नृपतिस्तु समुद्राख्यो नामकोर्तितः ॥
त्रीणि वर्षाणि दुर्मेधः राज्यं प्राप्स्यति दुर्मतिः ।
तस्याप्यनुजो विख्यातः भस्ममाख्यो नाम नामतः ॥
विविधां संपदं सोऽपि प्राप्तवान् नृपतिस्तथा ॥ 700-705.

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King Durgarāja of the Śarabhapurīya Dynasty

Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sarma has published parts of a very interesting copper-plate inscription belonging to the well-known Śarabhapurīya king Sudevarāja (*IHQ.*, XXI, pp. 294-95). The record raises a number of important points to which attention of scholars may be drawn.

Unlike the other grants of Sudevarāja, which were issued from Śarabhapura, the present charter was issued from Śrīpura. While the present record is dated in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the king's seventh regnal year, his records issued from Śarabhapura are known to be dated as early as in the year 2 and as late as in the year 10. The epigraph in question is about nine months later than Sudeva's Arang charter issued from Śarabhapura and dated in the month of Vaiśākha in the same seventh year of his reign. As all the grants of the Śarabhapurīya kings were known to have been issued from Śarabhapura with the only exception of the Ṭhakurdiyā charter of Pravararāja, who was apparently a younger brother of Sudeva, and as the grant of Pravara was issued from Śrīpura (Sirpur in the Raipur District, C.P.), it was formerly believed that the new city was founded by Pravara who transferred his capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura. The recently published record of Sudevarāja seems to show that Śrīpura was probably founded by that king who made it his secondary capital by the seventh year of his reign.

In the legend on the seal attached to Sudeva's Khariyar grant, the king is described as "one whose birth was from Mānamātra who was the moon born of the sea that was Prasanna." Scholars therefore believed that Sudevarāja was the son of Mānamātra and the grandson of Prasanna, i.e. Prasannamātra known from coins. The legend on the seal of the present charter does not refer to Sudeva's father; but in the body of the record the king is expressly called *śri-mahā-Durgarāja-putra*, "the son of the illustrious and great Durgarāja," Durgarāja thus seems to have been another name of Mānamātra. It was so long unknown whether Mānamātra actually ruled as a king of Śarabhapura; the style Śrī-mahā-Durgarāja proves that he did.

Pandit Pandeya suggests that the town of Drug (=Durga) in C.P. was founded by Durgarāja and named after him. It has however been rightly pointed out by Hiralal that the old name of Drug was Śivadurga and this Śaivite form can hardly be associated with the Śarabhapurīya rulers who were Vaiṣṇavas. The Drug stone inscription of about the age of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī king Śivagupta (usually but rather inaccurately called Mahāśivagupta)-Bālārjuna (first quarter of the seventh century), speaks of the *Maṇḍaleśa* Śivadeva (Śiva-

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gaṇapati) and of Śivapura and Śivadurga apparently named after him. The founder of Drug was therefore the chief Śivadeva who seems to have been a feudatory of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśīs of Kosala. Durga, abbreviated from Śivadurga, may be compared with such contractions as Nagara for Pāṭaliputranagara, Purī for Puruṣottamapurī, etc.

The *dūtaka* or executor of the recently published grant of Sudevarāja was the *Sarvādhikārādhikṛta* (chief minister) Mahāsāmanta Indrabalarāja whom the writer identifies with the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī ruler of that name who was the son of Udayana and father of the great king Nanna. The identification is very tempting; but it raises an interesting issue. We know that a Kalanjar rock inscription associates king Udayana's rule with the Banda region of Bundelkhand; but it seems most unlikely in the present state of our knowledge that the Kalanjar area formed any part of the kingdom of the Śarabhapurīyas. If the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī expansion in the Deccan already began in Udayana's time, it is difficult to identify his son with a feudatory an official of the Śarabhapurīyas, who seem to have ruled a small district somewhere in South Kosala. If the identification has to be upheld one has to suggest that Indrabala, whose son Nanna-rājādhirāja was in possession of a large part of C.P. as far at least as the Chanda District in the west, was a younger son of king Udayana of Central India and that he originally entered Kosala as an adventurer whose rise to an exceptionally important position in the Śarabhapurīya kingdom paved the way of the complete subjugation of South Kosala and other lands towards the west by his son Nanna and grandson Tīvara. This suggestion is probably supported by the fact that Tīvara called himself *Kosalādhipati* and apparently considered himself primarily the Lord of South Kosala.

Contemporaneously with the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvaṃśīs of Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, the family of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II of the Arang grant of the Gupta year 282 (601 A.D.) was probably ruling about the northern fringe of the country. The recent suggestion that the first of the three symbols in the date has to be read 100 instead of 200, especially because the expression preceding the date is *saṃvatsara-śate* (and not *saṃvatsara-śata-dvaye*), does not appear to be quite convincing. There is no doubt about the correctness of Hiralal's reading of the symbol in question as 200, and as regards the expression, it does not prove anything in view of such epigraphic passages as *saṃvatsara-śate* 372 in the Buchkala inscription of Nāgabhaṭa II, lines 1-2.

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The Mahārājas Svāmidāsa, Bhaṭaṇḍa and Rudradāsa

In *EI.*, XV, p. 286 ff, Dr. R. C. Majumdar edited two copper-plate grants, originally secured from a Brāhmaṇa of Indore, who was engaged in collecting manuscripts and historical records in different parts of the country. One of the charters belongs to *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa and is dated in the year 67 of an unspecified era. The second grant was issued by *Mahārāja* Bhaṭaṇḍa in the year 107 apparently of the same era. Dr. Majumdar pointed out that the script of the records resembles very closely that of the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II of the year 93 of the Gupta era corresponding to 412 A. D. It was suggested that Svāmidāsa and Bhaṭaṇḍa ruled somewhere in the western part of Central India as feudatories of the Gupta emperors and dated their charters in the Gupta era, the reckoning of their overlords.

In *IA.*, XVI, p. 98 f., Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji published a fragmentary copper-plate grant found at Sirpur in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency. It is dated in the year 118 according to the Pandit, but in the year 117 according to the corrected reading of Prof. V. V. Mirashi, and records a grant of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa. The inscription was assigned tentatively to the sixth century and it was pointed out that the characters show a certain amount of resemblance to those used in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions.

In a paper entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1944*, p. 62 ff., Prof. V. V. Mirashi suggests that the Indore plates may have been actually secured from the Khandesh District and that the Kings Svāmidāsa, Bhaṭaṇḍa and Rudradāsa probably belonged to the same dynasty. The dates of the three records in question are referred by the Professor to the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era supposed to have been founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena in 248-49 A. D. "These princes", he says, "who were evidently ruling in Khandesh were probably feudatories of the Ābhīras whose era they have used in their records. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in their grants therefore correspond to A. D. 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 respectively."

There are, however, certain aspects of the problem, to which the attention of scholars may be drawn. Svāmidāsa, Bhaṭaṇḍa and Rudradāsa have all been called *Mahārāja* and *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta* in their charters. It must be remembered that, in the fourth and fifth centuries, independent monarchs of territories near about Khandesh, who were performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, enjoyed the tittle *Mahārāja*; cf. the cases of the Nāgas, Traikūṭakas and Vākāṭakas. It was the Gupta emperors who popularised all over India the use of the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The feudatories (including those who were semi-independent) and subordinate allies of the early emperors of the Gupta family

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enjoyed the title *Mahārāja*. The title *Parâma-bhaṭṭāraka* applied to the unnamed monarchs to whom the *Mahārājas* of the Indore and Sirpur grants owed at least partial allegiance appear to have been no other than the Gupta *Parama-bhaṭṭārakas* Candragupta II (376-414 A. D.) and Kumāragupta I (414-55 A. D.). The style *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta* can hardly be expected in a record of 316 A. D. before the rise of the imperial Guptas.

It should also be remembered in this connection that, in the Nasik inscription, which seems to be the copy of an official charter, the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena is simply called a *Rājan*. He must have lived in an age prior to the introduction of the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* for overlords and *Mahārāja* even for feudatories. It is difficult to believe that the successors of this *Rājan*, only after half a century, were recognised as *Paramabhaṭṭārakas* by the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh. Since nothing absolutely is known about the Ābhīra kings after Īśvarasena, who ruled in the middle of the third century, it is hardly justifiable to suggest without further evidence that they retained their hold on the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh as late as 367 A. D., that is to say, for more than a century.

If Professor Mirashi's identification of the territories of Svāmidāsa, Bhuluṇḍa and Rudradāsa with Khandesh may be accepted, we have to admit that the said region at least nominally acknowledged the sway of the Guptas by the Gupta year 67=386 A. D. We know that Samudragupta subdued Rudradeva, i. e. the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena III, about the third quarter of the fourth century and that Candragupta II totally uprooted the Śakas of Western India shortly after 388 A. D. Even before 388 A. D. the Śakas may have been cornered in the western part of their dominions and the Gupta conquerors may have established in the annexed territories about Anūpa and Avantī such feudatory families as those of the Aulikaras of Mandasor and the "*Mahārājas* of Khandesh." But nothing definite can be said on this point in the present state of our knowledge as the location of the territories of Svāmidāsa, Bhuluṇḍa and Rudradāsa has not yet been proved entirely beyond doubt.

It may however be recalled in this connection that king Saṅkaragaṇa of the Kalacuri dynasty, that claimed connection with the ancient Haihayas and may have been originally settled near Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, is known to have used certain epithets copied verbatim from those of Samudragupta. This seems to imply his rule over territories originally held by the early Gupta emperors. Whether however the epithets were borrowed after the expansion of Kalacuri power under Saṅkaragaṇa to the north of the Vindhyas is as yet unknown.

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The Text-Problem of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta

In the Introduction to his critical edition of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*[1] Dr. S. K. De has postulated the theory that the second and third Āśvāsas of the *KK.* included in the South Indian recension are spurious and that the first Āśvāsa alone of the text given uniformly in the Bengal recension is genuine. This is entirely against the accepted tradition in South India, and hence a detailed examination of his arguments will be useful to understand how far his position is acceptable.

"The Bengal tradition appears to have originated from the time of Caitanya (1486-1533 A.D.),"[2] who is said to have come across a Ms. of the *KK.* "at a certain temple on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇaveṇa near Pandharpur"[3] in the course of his pilgrimage in Southern and Western India. Caitanya brought it to Bengal and introduced it to his followers. It became very popular there, and many commentaries came to be written on the poem. Of these the *Kṛṣṇavallabhā* of Gopālabhaṭṭa, an immediate disciple of Caitanya, was the earliest; the *Subodhinī* of Caitanyadāsa appeared in the same century; and a little later Kṛṣṇadāsakavirāja composed the more popular and elaborate commentary called *Sāraṅgaraṅgadā*.[4] All these commentators accept only the first canto of the *KK.* as genuine. "This tradition regarding the *KK.* obtaining in Bengal from the beginning of the sixteenth century", says Dr. De, "is not altogether negligible."[5]

On the other hand the tradition in South India about the genuineness of all the three cantos of the *KK.* is, according to Dr. De, very late. Pāpayallayasūri who represents the South Indian tradition is certainly later than Mallinātha, and may even be later than Caitanya.[6] If the *KK.* was known in three cantos in the fifteenth century it is difficult to explain why Caitanya took back with him only one canto of the book. Dr. S. K. De suggests that "it would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that the two other śatakas, apparently unknown to him but known to Pāpayallayasūri and to comparatively recent South Indian and Western Mss. arose at a somewhat later date."[7]

Another argument that Dr. S. K. De adduces to support his theory is based on the fact that in the *Padyāvali* of Rūpagosvāmin, a contemporary and disciple of Caitanya, verses from the second and third cantos of the South Indian recension of the *KK.* are found, which is

1 Dacca University Oriental Publication Series, No. 5, 1938.

2 Introduction to the *KK.* p. ix.

3 Kṛṣnadāsakavirāja's Bengali *Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Antya*, ix, 304-05. (Referred to by Dr. De, *op. cit.*, p. x, n.).

4 All these three commentaries are published in Dr. De's edition.

5 Introduction to the *KK.*, p. xi.

6 *Ibid.* p. xi, n.

7 *Ibid.*, p. xi, f.

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against the clear statement of the author at the end of the anthology that "he has deliberately refrained from including the verses of Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala."[8] And no verse from the first canto of the *KK.* is found in the *Padyāvali*. This indicates, it is argued, that Rūpa-gosvāmin took the first śataka as genuine, but not the other two śatakas.[9]

Thus it seems probable, according to Dr. De, that in Bengal "the tradition of the text was better preserved and less modified than in its place of origin."[10] He says: "It is undoubted that verses of other authors, some known and some unknown, went into the making of the last two śatakas and swelled their bulk.....Their nucleus might have been drawn from verses occurring in other stotra-like works composed by, or ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, and around this might have been woven verses of less known writers, which with their authorship forgotten, came to be confused with the genuine verses of Bilvamaṅgala."[11]

Dr. De's conclusion that the nucleus of the second and third śatakas of the *KK.* was made up by the verses culled from other poems ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala is mainly based on the assumption that while it is possible to trace a good number of verses of the last two cantos of the *KK.* in all the apocryphal works ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, verses from the first canto of the *KK.* are not found in any of them. In his Note on *The Viṣṇustuti and the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* in *IHQ.*, xx. 1944, pp. 179-181 where he has defended his theory against the criticism of Mr. H. G. Narahari,[12] the same assumption has been made by Dr. De with special emphasis. He says: "I have already discussed the question at some length and have tried to show that these apocryphal works are *independent* collections of miscellaneous Kṛṣṇite verses ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, which supply the nucleus of the second and third Āśvāsas of the South Indian recension. We can, therefore, trace a good number of verses of these two Āśvāsas in all of them, but *no verse of the first Āśvāsa occurs in any of them.*" (Italics mine).[13]

Let us consider how far this assumption is accurate. Even in the *Sumaṅgalastotra* of Bilvamaṅgala described by Eggeling, the first Maṅgala Śloka is identical with the first verse of the first śataka of the *KK.*[14] In the fragmentary West Indian illustrated manuscript of the *Bālagopālastuti* belonging to the middle of the fifteenth century discovered by O. C. Gangoly, we find along with some verses from the

8 Intro. to the *KK.*, pp. xiii-xvi.
9 *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
10 *Ibid.*, p. xviii.
11 *Ibid.*, p. xix.
12 *An early manuscript of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta of Bilvamaṅgala*, by H. G. Narahari, *Adyar Library Bulletin*, VIII, February, 1944, pp. 43-45.
13 *IHQ.*, XX, p. 179 f.
14 Dr. De has noted this in the introduction to the *KK.*, p. xxi.

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second and third cantos of the *KK.* *four verses* from the first canto itself.[15] Again in the Bikaner Manuscript of the *Bilvamaṅgalastotra*,[16] which is complete and which on examination is found to be only another version of the *Bālagopālastuti* discovered by Gangoly, there are *twelve verses* from the first canto (including the four verses found in the *Bālagopālastuti also*). All these twelve verses are found in the *Kṛṣṇabālacarita* of Bilvamaṅgala, of which a Ms. dated Saṃvat 1874 (1818 A.D.) is in the Bhandarkar Institute (292 of 1884).[17] Though this Ms. contains only 285 verses as against the 360 of the *Bilvamaṅgalastotra* of Bikaner, and though the order of verses is also different, still this appears to be almost like a third version of the same work. I shall give below a table giving the verses of the First canto of the *KK.* found in these works.

Verse	*KK.* (I).	*Bilvamaṅgalastotra.*	*Kṛṣṇabālacarita.*	*Bālagopālastuti.*
1. कारुण्यकर्वुर—	25	107	212	
2. कलकणितकङ्कणं—	20	110	81	99
3. मम चेतसि स्फुरतु—	17	202	46	199
4. मुकुलायमान—	6	203	45	
5. पल्लवारुणपाणि—	9	204	237	
6. अस्ति स्वस्तरुणी—	2	205	49	
7. मयि प्रसादं मधुरैः —	29	224	77	222
8. तरुणारुणकरुणा—	18	227	85	
9. चिन्तामणिर्जयति—	1	236	197	
10. विचिलपलाङ्कुरशालि—	22	242	238	
11. परिपालय नः—	62	245	240	243
12. मधुरं मधुरं वपुरस्य—	92	341	84	

Besides these, there are possibly many other stotras attributed to Bilvamaṅgala which have not been fully examined. Even in the case

15 Dr. De has admitted this also. See *Addenda* to the *KK.*, p. 373.

16 This is being edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Dr. S. K. De's suggestion that this might be another version of the *Kṛṣṇastotra* (Introduction to the *KK.*, p. xxiii.) is not correct. From a detailed study of the Ms. it is found that this is only a version of the *Bālagopālastuti*, of which a fragmentary Ms. belonging to the fifteenth century was discovered by O. C. Gangoly. Of the 80 verses (including the 30 unidentified) from that Ms. noted by Dr. De (*Addenda* to the *KK.*), as many as 77 are found in the Bikaner Ms. The order is also found to be the same. The only difference is that the Bikaner Ms. is a *Textus Ornatior*, whereas the *Bālagopālastuti* is a *Textus Simplicior*.

17 Introduction to the *KK.*, p. xix, n. I got the copy of the Ms. through Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

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of the *Viṣṇustuti* Ms. of the Adyar Library[18] we cannot say that the work does not contain any verse from the first canto of the *KK.*, even though in the available portion of the Ms. no verse from that canto is found. In the light of all the above mentioned data, to assert that no verse from the first Āśvāsa of the *KK.* occurs in any of the apocryphal colletanea of Kṛṣṇa-verses ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala is not correct.

If the presence of some verse from the second and third cantos of the *KK.* in other works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala is accepted as sufficient evidence to indicate that the nucleus of these two cantos "was supplied by verses taken from genuine or spurious works of Bilvamaṅgala",[19] we will have to accept that same is the case with the first canto also, since verses from that are found in some of the works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala.

Dr. De's suggestion about the stotra works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala being the nucleus of the last two cantos of the *KK.* pre-supposes the assumption that those collectanea of verses are earlier than the two cantos of the *KK.* Now since verses from such works are found even in the first canto, we will have to assume, if we accept Dr. De's assumption, that all the three cantos of the *KK.* are later than these apocryphal works. But this does not seem to be the case. A close study of some of these stotra works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala shows that they are later compilations from various sources, and cannot claim to be the nucleus of the *KK.* In the Bikaner Ms. of the *Bilvamaṅgalastotra*, for instance, we have verses from the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mukundamālā*, the *Daśakumāracarita* and Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇacampū*.[20] The *KK.* forms the main source for all these stotra works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala.

It is quite possible that the text of the *KK.* was not entirely free from interpolations. It was also subject to the fate of all the popular

18 Shelf No. XL-A-116. See H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*

19 Introduction to the *KK.*, p. xxiii.

20 (i) महार्हवैदूर्यकिरीटकुण्डल ... B. 375. *Bhāgavata*, X-3-10.

(ii) सविस्मयोत्फुल्लविलोचनो ... B. 358. *Bhāgavata*, X-3-11.

(iii) क्षीरसागरतरङ्गशीकरा ... B. 125. *Mukundamalā* (Kāvyamālā edition)

(iv) वन्दे मुकुन्दमरविन्द ... B. 215. *Mukundamālā* (do)

(v) नमामि नारायणपादपङ्कजं ... B. 58. *Mukundamālā* (Annamalai University edition).

(vi) अर्धाण्डछत्तदण्ड ... B. 116. *Daśakumāracarita* Introductory vers

(vii) रेखारथाङ्गसरसीरुहचक्रचिह्ने B. 259. *Rāmāyaṇacampū* Ayodhyākāṇḍa, verse 28.

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works like the *Śākuntala*, *Bhartṛhariśataka*s, and the *Amarukaśataka*. And the presence of some interpolated verses is no evidence to the spurious nature of a poem.

It has also to be remembered in this connection that the South Indian tradition has been uniform regarding the existence of the text of the *KK*. in three cantos. Not only the commentary of Pāpayallayasūri,[21] but also the Prapā commentary of Śaṅkara noticed by Kathavate,[22] the *Kṛṣṇānandaprakāśini* noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar,[23] the *Suvarṇapātri* by Brahmadatta,[24] and the commentary by Avāncha Rāmacandra[25] all accept the text as containing more than one canto. The date of many of these commentaries may be very late; but they must have been following an earlier tradition. It is interesting to note in this connection that at the end of the Kerala version of the *KK*. there is a verse saying that the text of the *KK*. contains 303 verses:[26]

कर्णामृतं भगवतश्चरितं रसज्ञः
श्लोकत्रयाधिकशतत्रयमादरेण ।
श्रृण्वन् पठन्ननुदिनं समुपैति सिद्धिं
सिद्धो यथा सकललोकविहाररुपाम् ॥

This tradition existing in the place of origin of the text cannot be brushed aside without sufficient evidence.

The evidence of *Padyāvali* adduced by Dr. De in support of his theory does not prove anything beyond the fact that Rūpagosvāmin did not know that those eleven verses, which are found in the last two cantos of the *KK*. and which are quoted in the *Padyāvali*, really belonged to Bilvamaṅgala. Or it may even be that they are interpolated verses.[27]

Dr. De has made it sufficiently clear that the Bengal tradition dating back to the sixteenth century knows only canto I of the *KK*. as genuine. This may be, as he has suggested, due to the fact that Caitanya got only the first canto in the course of his South Indian tour. Now a question arises. Why was it that Caitanya did not get all the three cantos of the *KK*. if they were known at that time? Dr. S. K. De's answer is that the *KK*. contained only the first canto then. Evidently this is against

21 Published from Srirangam (no date).

22 *Report* on the Search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Presidency during 1891-95, Bombay, 1901, p. 31, No. 465.

23 *Report*, 1882-83, p. 64, no. 133.

24 See Dr. S. K. De, Introduction to the *KK*., p. xii.

25 *Addenda* to the *KK*.; also see *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 339.

26 *Saint Vilvamaṅgala*, by Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, Trivandrum, 1937, p. 475.

27 See also H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

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the South Indian tradition. Another equally possible answer can also be given to the question, which does not militate against the South Indian tradition. The manuscript that Caitanya came across might have contained only one canto. It is a well known fact that fragmentary manuscripts of popular works do exist even now, which contain only the first one or two cantos. Perhaps, even Caitanya had not realised that it was incomplete; for otherwise he would certainly have tried his best to get a complete manuscript of the work. And Caitanya's followers might have refrained, as Mr. Narahari has suggested, "out of respect for the *guru*, from all reasoning, and attached special importance to the portion as that chosen by their preceptor, even though the fact may be that it was all what he could lay hands on during his tour."[28]

Thus the Bengal tradition does not necessarily show that the last two cantos of the *KK.* are spurious. We have already seen that the other important basis for his theory, *viz.* the assumption that no verse from the first canto of the *KK.* occurs in any of the collections of Kṛṣṇa verses attributed to Bilvamaṅgala, is not correct. Hence it may be safely maintained that Dr. De's theory about the spuriousness of the second and third cantos of the *KK.* cannot be taken as established, and that at best it still remains a hypothesis.

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

28 H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, p. 44f.

29 I have not dealt with the minor points raised by Dr. De. The argument based on the difference in literary merit is, as he himself has admitted, unsafe. The position of the verse giving the name of the author towards the close of the first canto is also not a conclusive evidence for the spuriousness of the other two cantos.

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Somarājadeva of the Saṁgītaratnāvalī

Saṁgītaratnāvalī is one of the earliest and most important works on music, written by one Somarājadeva. There has been some doubt as to the identity of this Somarājadeva. Thus Krishnamachariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 854, note 1006, observes:

"*Saṅgītaratnāvalī* described in the Catalogues as Somarājadeva's may not be the work of the King Someśvara. Probably he is "a Pratīhāri of the Cālukya King Ajayapāla of Gujarat (1174-1177 A. D.)."

King Someśvara referred to here is the well known anthor of the *Mānasollāsa*.

There is a MS. of the *Saṁgītaratnāvalī* in the Anup Sanskrit Library. At the end it is dated Saṁvat 1516 and Śaka 1382 and is perhaps the earliest known MS. of the work. I give here an extract from the end of the work where it is clearly stated that the author is a Pratīhārin of the Cālukya king Bhīma of Guzerat.

Somarājadeva is therefore not to be identified with Someśvara.

आसीद्धम्मीरलक्ष्मीहठहरणदृढप्रौढवल्गत्कृपाणः
संग्रामोच्चापचापोत्कटकुलनलिनीखण्डचण्डांशुरुर्व्याः ।
द्वाःस्थः श्रीसीमभर्तुर्नृपमुकुटमणेः श्रीजगद्देवनामा
तस्य श्रीसोमराजः समजनि तनयः काश्यपीकल्पवृक्षः ॥
प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालकालरजनीदोःस्तम्भबद्धाश्रयः
श्रीसंरक्षणसौविदः परकरिस्कंधच्छिदां कोविदः ।
यत्खड्गः कुरुते स्म राज्यमखिलं चौलुक्यचूडामणेः
श्रीमद्भीमनृपस्य तेन तदिदं द्वाःस्थेन शास्त्रं कृतम् ॥
प्रक्रीडत्कलिनिर्विवेकविकलस्फारस्फुरन्नायकः
श्वस्ताधारसरस्वतीकृतवपुर्मानेन दानेन यः ।
दारिद्र्यं दलयत्यशेषविदुषामस्तोकलोकंपृणां
प्रेप्यत्पुण्यगुणोदयः स जयति श्रीसोमराजश्चिरम् ॥

इति श्रीचौलुक्यनृपप्रतीहारश्रीसोमराजदेवविरचितायां संगीतरत्नावल्यां संकीर्णलक्षणं नवमं प्रकरणं समाप्तमिति ॥ ग्रन्थसंख्या श्लोक १४४५ ॥ संवत् १५१६ वर्षे शाके १३८२ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायणे ग्रीष्मऋतौ ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० तिथौ गुरुदिने अद्येह श्रीधर्मारण्यवास्तव्यश्रीमन्मज्जनजनवृंदवरिष्ठं श्रीमन्मन्त्रिभूपतिः तत्सुतेन भाणाशर्मणा समस्तगीतज्ञजनावबोधनार्थं तथा च मद्गुरुपार्श्वे स्वात्मावबोधनार्थं संगीतरत्नावलिपुस्तकमलीलिखत् ॥

पुस्तके शुद्धमद्राक्षीत् कूटं च लिखितं मया ।
इति ज्ञात्वा च मे गालां मादुः पुस्तकवाचकाः ॥

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यादृशं पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया ।
यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥
ब्रह्मा तालधरो हरिः सपटहो वीणान्विता भारती
वंशज्ञौ शशिभास्करौ श्रुतिधरा यक्षाप्सरःकिन्नराः ।
विष्णुर्गीतकरो मृदङ्गकलितौ नांदीकुमारौ स्थितौ
रुद्रो नृत्यकरः स्वभावरचितं नाट्यं पुनात्वीदृशम् ॥
भग्नपृष्ठिकटिग्रीवारधोदृष्टिरधोमुखम् ।
कष्टेन लिखितं ग्रन्थं यत्नेन परिपालयेत् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥
तृणवाणस्तृणास्तूणस्तृणाय रचितकपटपुरुषोऽयम् ।
अलमिह मृगशावककेदारकलममञ्जरी कथं त्यजसि ॥

शुभम् —भवतु ॥

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

Bhāsa as a Prakrit Poet

The *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammaṭa is a standard work on Sanskrit Poetics and it abounds in illustrations culled out from various authors. In the IVth chapter of the book the following stanza along with others has been quoted as an example of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani:*

"जा थेरं व हसन्ता कइवअणंबुरुहबद्धविणिवेसा ।
दावेइ भुअणमंडलमण्णं विअ जअइ सा वाणी ॥

The same rendered into Sanskrit would read:

या स्थविरमिव हसन्ती कविवदनांबुरुहबद्धविनिवेशा ।
दर्शयति भुवनमण्डलमन्यदिव जयति सा वाणी ॥" (See p. 142 of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Vāmanācārya Jhalakikar's edn. 1933).

This is a beautiful verse embodying the famous idea that the Goddess of Poetry reveals an imaginative world infinitely richer and more attractive than the world of hard reality created by Brahman. It is also figuratively expressed that Sarasvatī is proud of her own dwelling, viz. the 'face-lotus' of the poets, which is infinitely superior to the ordinary water-born-lotus that happens to be Brahman's seat. The poet adds that she also makes fun of Brahman's age.

The verse which gives expression to such a charming and brilliant idea naturally makes us curious to know who its author is. Unfortunately, no published commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* gives us any clue as to the author.

But the clue came from quite an unexpected quarter. While I was perusing a Ms. copy of the *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* by the great Sāyan-

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ācārya (the copy bearing No. A 615 in the Mysore Govt. Oriental Library Mss. Collection) which is yet unpublished, I was very much surprised to find on p. 23 this verse being quoted as coming from Bhāsa, the great poet. The exact words in the text preceding this verse are :— "महाकविना भासेनाप्युक्तम्," And the verse cannot be traced in any of the dramas published as Bhāsa's.

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it would not be wrong if we consider the testimony of Sāyaṇācārya to be based upon sound tradition. The nature of the stanza is such that it quite befits to be the invocatory stanza (मङ्गलश्लोक) of a full-fledged Prākṛt Kāvya. Bhāsa was so far famous as a dramatist only. But it is not unlikely that he wrote Kāvyas also as his worthy successor Kālidāsa did. Though the ascription of a single verse by a late author proves nothing in itself it may be of some value when taken together with other evidences that may be forth-coming. A refernce to Bhāsa by Vākpati, the reputed author of the great Prākṛt Kāvya, *Gauda-vaho,*

(cf. भासम्मि जलणमिते कुन्तीदेवे अ जस्सा रहुआरे ।
सोवन्धवे अ बन्धम्मि हरियन्दे च आणन्दो ॥ *Gaudavaho*, 800.)

is also significant. That Bhāsa's name should lead the list of famous poets including Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra may be something more than a mere accident.

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REVIEWS

THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University. Second edition, 1946.

It is a pleasure to find that this valuable and extremely readable contribution to modern Indian history has reached second edition within less than three years of its first publication. Mr. Banerjee has succeeded in attracting the attention of scholars and general readers alike to a fascinating subject which was so long ignored by writers on Indian history. In this new edition he has added new chapters and new maps; he has also re-written a considerable portion of the old text. He has made a fuller use of his materials—primarily unpublished official documents—and his scholarship is accurate and penetrating. On the whole, the second edition is a distinct improvement on the first, and we hope it will receive wider appreciation.

Mr. Banerjee's subject-matter is the policy pursued by the British Indian Government towards the States on the eastern frontier of Bengal during the period 1784-1826, *i.e.*, from the incorporation of the independent kingdom of Arakan in the Burmese empire to the conclusion of the First Anglo-Burmese War and the annexation of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim to the British empire. It is important to note that he has not given us the history of Assam or of Burma. His purpose is to study, from the *Indian* point of view, the attempt of the British Government to solve a baffling frontier problem. No previous writer has surveyed British relations with Assam and Burma from this point of view. Mr. Banerjee's outlook is refreshingly novel, and his literary qualities have enabled him to draw a lucid picture of a complicated and many-coloured problem.

A very interesting portion of the volume deals with the military and naval operations in Assam, Cachar, Manipur, Arakan and Burma. All military campaigns and naval expeditions are illustrated with excellent maps. Those forgotten incidents will throw a new light on the recent operations of war in Burma and the Japanese threat to Bengal and Assam.

I. BANERJEE

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, vol. XXVI, pts. 1-II

V. V. MIRASHI.—*Historical Data in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita.* The Sanskrit prose narrative *Daśakumāracarita* describing the adventures of ten youths mentions several kings and territories and points to the existence of a powerful southern kingdom. The discussion in the paper strives at showing that the narrative reflects the actual political situation in the Deccan in the beginning of the sixth century and supplies reliable data regarding the closing period of the Vākāṭakas in Vidarbha.

R. C. HAZRA.—*The Narasiṃha-purāṇa.* This is an account of the *Narasiṃha-purāṇa* which is an Upapurāṇa meant for the glorification of Narasiṃha, an incarnation of Visnu. The genuine portions of the work which have been differentiated from its spurious additions, are assigned to the 5th century A.C.

P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the History of Indian Plants—History of Caṇaka (gram) as Food for Horses—between c. A.D. 800 and 1870 together with some notes on the import of foreign horses into India in ancient and mediæval times.*

S. K. BELVALKAR.—*Some Interesting Problems in Mahābhārata Text Transmission.*

B. A. SALATORE.—*Samudragupta's Conquest of Koṭṭūra.* 'Svāmidatta of Koṭṭura on the hill' mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as conquered by Samudragupta is surmised to have been a ruler of an early branch of the Cālukyas. The hill fortress Koṭṭura is believed to have been situated in the Kuḍligi Tāluka in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. The history of the place in later times has been discussed in the paper.

Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. V

(Bahadur Singhji Singhi Memorial Volume)

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Some important Principles and Postulates in Ancient Indian Educational System.* The general ideals underlying the educational system of ancient India have been enunciated and cases of lapse from the ideal have been discussed. Topics dealt with in the paper in this connection are: education for all, studentship before marriage, education beginning in childhood but continuing for ever, physical punishment for students, importance attached to forming habits and following routines by students, the Gurukula system, the rôle of the family in the education of a student.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Vālmīki the Literary Critic: How Ānandavardhana interprets Vālmīki.* The essence of poetry is neither language nor matter, but it is *dhvani*, the ultimate impression—this position

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taken in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana is said to have its origin in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

SRI RAM SARMA.—*Some Problems of Mughal History.* The following problems relating to Mughal India have been discussed and recommended for a further study: arrangements for education, Hindu and Muslim saints, common people, life in a village, social organisations and the princes of the period.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*The City of Bengala.* The writer of the paper is of the opinion that the City of Bengala mentioned in the European records of the 16th and the 17th century never meant any city called Bengala, but indicated only the chief city of the Vaṅgāla-deśa, which was included in the kingdom of the Candra rulers. Vaṅgāla, originally comprised only the southern part of the old Vaṅga, but expanded later on to signify a large area of the modern East Bengal. It is surmised that Sonārgāon situated near the Meghna estuary had first caught attention of the Portuguese as the city of Bengala, but when the city lost its importance in course of time, the Portuguse port in the Chittagong region began to be called by that name.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*Some Aspects of the Administration of Candragupta Maurya.* Details as recorded in the accounts of Megasthenes and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautalya have been collected under the following heads: daily duties of the king, self-protection, some habits of the king, espionage, the Purohitas, the Crown Prince, the mint.

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*The Pronunciation of -t- as -l- in certain positions*

T. A. VENKATESWARA DIKSHITAR.—*The Vedic Sacrifices and Temple Worship.* This is an attempt to establish a close relation between the two forms of worship, Vedic and Āgamic, by showing that the later temple worship has evolved out of the old Vedic sacrifice.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARIAR.—*European Pioneer Studies in South Indian Languages.*

P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the Regional History of Indian Paper Industry: The paper manufacture at Harihar on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā in A.D. 1790 as described by Capt. Edward Moor.*

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE.—*The Gupta Era.* In reply to the criticism of his identification of the Gupta era with the Vikrama Saṃvat of 58 B.C., Mr. Mookerjee puts forward arguments in support of his proposition.

STERNBACH LUDWICK.—*Veśyā—Synonyms and Aphorisms.*

M. V. SHAH.—*Jainism and Meat-eating.*

Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin) vol. X, pt. 1

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Bhagavadgītā and the Mīmāṃsā.* The object of the paper is to show that the Gītā 'truly reflects' the view of Karma

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as held by the Mīmāṃsā school of thinkers and there is no doctrinal conflict between the two views.

RATNA SHIVARAM.—*The Ethics of the Bhagavadgītā.*

H. G. NARAHARI.—*The Yagavāsiṣtha and the Doctrine of Freewill.* According to the *Yogavāsiṣtha Rāmāyaṇa* a man himself is the architect of his own future. His effort, often coming into conflict with the antinatal tendencies (prāktana karma), has the power to fight against them.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society,
vol. XXI, pt. IV (Dec. 1945)

B. BHATTACHARYA.—*Identity of the Āndhrabhṛtyas. The Kaliyugavṛttānta* portion of the *Bhaviṣottarapurāṇa* gives a detailed account of the Āndhrabhṛtyas who are identified in the paper with the Imperial Guptas for the reason that Candragupta I, the first monarch of the Gupta dynasty, began his career as a commander-in-Chief of the Andhra king Candraśrī Śātakarṇi.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE.—*Kingship and Nobility in Mewar.*

K. K. BASU.—*Mediæval Kingship in the Deccan.*

SYED HASAN ASKARI.—*Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb.*

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR.—*Mir Jumla's Overseas Commercial Activities.*

VISVANATHA PRASAD SINHA VARMA.—*Decline of the Vedic Religion (c. 800-500 B.C.).* The unusual complication and extreme mechanisation that cropped up in the sacrificial system and the violent practices that developed along with it contributed to the reaction against the whole system leading to its gradual decline.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
vol. II, pt. 4 (August, 1945)

M. HIRIYANNA.—*Definition of Brahman.* In order to give an idea of the nature of Brahman, the Advaita Vedāntins resort to a two-fold way of approaching a definition. When Brahman is called *sat cit ānanda,* its *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* (characterisation) is attempted, and when Brahman is explained as the cause of the world, the *taṭastha-lakṣṇa* (description) is given.

R. C. HAZRA.—*The Nandi-purāṇa.* In the absence of any mss. of the *Nandi-purāṇa,* this account of the work is based on the information gathered from the extant Purāṇic literature as also on the statements and quotations found in various Smṛti digests.

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*The Conception and Number of Pramāṇas according to Vṛttikāra Upavarṣa.*

SHRIKRISHNA MISHRA.—*The Locus Classicus of the Theory of Suggestion.* The purpose of the paper is to show the importance of the function of suggestion (*dhvani*) in the realm of literature as has been pointed out by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka.*

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DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.—*Date of Vācaspati and Udayanacārya.* Evidence has been adduced to prove that both Vācaspati and Udayanācārya flourished in the latter half of the 10th century and not earlier. It is contended in the paper therefore that the year 898 (*vasvaṅkavasuvatsare*) mentioned as the date of composition of Vācaspati's *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* refers to the year of the Śaka era which is 976 A.C. It is further argued that the expression *tarkāmbarāṅka* found in Udayana's *Lakṣaṇāvalī* as the date of the work is a misreading for *tarkasvarāṅka* which will mean 976 Śaka = 1054 A.C.

JAIDEVA SINGH.—*The Concept of Duḥkha in Indian Philosophy.*

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*Gosvāmin Śivānanda Bhaṭṭa, his Works and Date—Indentification of his Two Royal Patrons.* Śivānanda was a voluminous writer on Tantra. From the *Siṃhasiddhāntasindhu* and the *Śrīvidyārcanacandrikā*, two of his treatises described here, some details about the author are known. A Draviḍa Brāhmaṇa but settled in northern India, Śivānanda composed his works in the second half of the 17th century first under the patronage of Devīsingh Bundela of Chanderi and later under the Cutchwah prince Bishen Singh of Ambar.

TARA SANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Relation according to the New School of Indian Logic (Navya-nyāya).* In the cognition of an object, its substratum, its qualities and the relation (*sambandha*) between them play their part. The notion that a thing is possessed of certain qualities, can be formed only when the nature of the relation existing between the thing and the qualities are known. The general nature of the relation has been described here and twenty-five important varieties of relation like *saṃyoga, samavāya, svarūpa* etc. as recognised in the Navya-nyāya have been discussed.

VIDYADHAR SASTRI.—*Assyrian and Sanskrit—their Resemblance.* Words occurring in Assyrian inscriptions show that they are related to Sanskrit.

Ibid., vol. III, pt. 1 (November, 1945)

ADRIS BANERJI.—*Some Sculptures from Rajghat, Benares.*

V. B. ATHAVALE.—*The Exact Date of the Kuru War.* (i) Two eclipses, Solar and Lunar, occurring after an interval of 13 days and visible in the month of October (Āśvina and Kārtika), (ii) a comet in Puṣyā visible in the same month and (iii) the Jupiter and Saturn staying in Viśākhā for one year—these three criteria mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as observed before the Kuruksetra War have been taken into consideration in arriving at the year 3016 B.C. as the date of the war.

B. C. LAW.—*Some Ancient Sites of Bengal.*

BIBHUTIBUSHAN BHATTACHARYA.—*Some Notes on Vyomaśivācārya.* The

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conclusions reached in the paper are: Vyomaśiva, the author of the *Vyomavatī*, a commentary on Praśastapāda's *Bhāṣya* on the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* cannot be identical with Śivāditya, the author of the *Saptapadārthī*. Flourishing some time between the middle of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th century A.C., Vyomaśiva was a saint-scholar of the Siddhānta Śaiva school of the north, and not a Vīraśaiva Sannyasin of southern India.

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Yoga Psychology in the Minor Upaniṣads.*

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Todarānanda.* *Todarānanda* is an encyclopædic digest of Hindu Law compiled under the patronage of Todaramalla, the Finance Minister of Akbar. The divisions of the work and the various topics dealt with therein together with a long genealogy of Todaramalla as contained in the digest itself have been given here.

TARA SANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*The Five Provisional Definitions of Vyāpti (Vyāptipañca) in Gaṅgeśa.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XXIV, pts. 1 & 2

JAGADISH CHANDRA JAIN.—*Crime and Punishment in the Jain Canons.*

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Kṛmiśa and Demetrius

While speaking of the rulers of India who rose to power just after the fall of the Mauryas, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions a king named Gomi-mukhya and his anti-Buddhist exploits (verses 530-537; Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, pp. 38-39; for his interpretation *ibid.*, pp. 18-20). The text says about him: "Having seized the East and the Gate of Kashmir, he the fool, the wicked, will destroy monasteries with relics, and kill monks of good conduct. He will die in the north along with his officers and relatives being attacked with a bloc of stone by an angry non-man (*amānuṣenaiva kruddhena*)."[1] The text further says that after the fall of this wicked king, a great (Mahā) Yakṣa named, Buddhapakṣa, ascended the throne. He was charitable, attached to Buddhism and built in many places monasteries, gardens, caityas, images, wells, etc. He died at a mature age and was succeeded on the throne by his son Gambhīra Yakṣa who continued the same pious acts.[2] The dynasty evidently came to an end with him as the text does not mention any of his successors.

1 The Sanskrit text of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is as follows:

प्राचीं दिशिमुपादाय काश्मीरद्वारमेव तु ।
नाशयिश्यति तदा मूढः विहारां धातुवरांस्तथा ॥ ५३१ ॥
भिक्षवः शीलसम्पन्नां घातयिष्यति दुर्मतिः ।
उत्तरां दिशमाश्रित्य मृत्युस्तस्य भविष्यति ॥ ५३२ ॥
अमानुषेणैव क्रुद्धेन सराष्ट्रापशुबान्धवः ।
आक्रान्तोऽद्रिखण्डेन पातालं यास्यति दुर्मति ॥ ५३३ ॥

The *Bu-ston* (Obermiller's translation, p. 119) quotes a slightly different version of the text: "Thereafter the king called Bhadanta (*btsun-pa*) will burn down temples and the monuments from the eastern country and up to the gate of Kashmir and massacre the monks."

2 The name of the Yakṣa king is given in the text as Buddhapakṣa but Jayaswal thinks that it is a copyist's mistake for Buddhapakṣa—(Sańs rgyas phyogs). The quotation from *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* in *Bu-ston* is slightly different—

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Mr. Jayaswal was right in recognising the king called Gomimukhya as Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. Although it is not clear why he is called Gomimukhya, "the Chief of the Gomis,"[3] there is little doubt that it is he who is meant in the verses described above. But Mr. Jayaswal's identification of the two Yakṣa kings with Kadphises I and Kadphises II cannot be accepted. His interpretation of verse no. 533 led him to think that the establishment of the so-called Yakṣa dynasty was not an immediate consequence of the downfall of Puṣyamitra but an independent and later event. But the *a-mānuṣa* (non-man) who was responsible for the destruction of Puṣyamitra and his army near the "Gate of Kashmir" was evidently a Yakṣa who was either the same as the first Yakṣa king Buddhapakṣa or was another Yakṣa who was responsible for the latter's establishment on the throne. The chronological gap between the fall of Puṣyamitra and the rise of the two Kadphises is so large that we have to think that other kings have been symbolised in the persons of the two Yakṣas. It is understood that in these texts the words Yakṣa, *a-mānuṣa* etc. mean 'foreign,' 'barbarian' etc. and do not stand in our way of acepting the kings of whom they are appellatives as historical persons.

The account as given in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* can be easily recognised to be a shortened version of the *Divyāvadāna* story of the persecution of Buddhism by Puṣyamitra (ed. Cowel and Neil, pp. 429-434 *Aśokāvadāna*). This story tells us that Puṣyamitra's first attack was directed against the monastery of Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭalīputra. His attempt to destroy the monastery was foiled by a miracle. As he was approaching its gates with his army, he heard the sound of terrible

"After him there will be a king called Buddhapakṣa (Saṅ rgyas phyogs) who will be succeeded by the king Sarvābhirāma (Thams cad mṅon dgaḥ) who will live 300 years. The son of the latter, Gambhīrapakṣa (zab moḥi phyogs) will reign in the Pañcāla country." whereas the present version of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions Gambhīrapakṣa as the son of Buddhapakṣa. The *Bu-ston* (*loc. cit.*) in its quotation mentions Sarvābhirāma as the latter's son and Gambīrapakṣa as the grandson.

3 The name 'Gomi-mukhya' which is also mentioned as 'Gomi-ṣaṇḍa' in another verse stands for Puṣyamitra but its meaning is not clear. 'Gomin' means a "jackal," and also "a Buddhist lay worshipper." It is in that latter sense that the word is suffixed to Buddhist names like Candragomin. *Bu-ston* also (Cf. note 1) evidently takes the name in the latter sense as he translates it as Btsun-pa ('Venerable one'—Bhadanta). But it is improbable that Puṣyamitra was ever a Buddhist layman. Another meaning may be suggested. 'Gomika' is a regular Prakrit form of Skt. Gaulmika (Cf. *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, sub. verb.). In this sense Gomi-mukhya may mean 'a leader of Gulma,' Gulma being a particular army division. In this case Puṣyamitra would not be even a full-fledged general of the army.

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roaring of lions. He got frightened and did not venture to do any harm to the monastery. As his attempt failed on this side, he directed his campaign towards the north-west. He destroyed monasteries and killed the monks in course of his march. Thus proceeding step by step, he reached the city of Śākala. Here he declared a prize of one hundred gold coins on the head of each monk. Proceeding further towards the north-west, the king reached the kingdom of Koṣṭhaka. It was the residence of the Yakṣa Daṁṣṭrānivāsin. This Yakṣa was a convert to Buddhism and was thus avowed not to do harm to living beings. So it was not possible for him to fight with Puṣyamitra in the defence of the Law. He however remembered that on a previous occasion a neighbouring Yakṣa named Kṛmiśa wanted to marry his daughter but he refused him then because the latter was a person of bad conduct (i.e. was not a Buddhist). He now proposed to give his daughter to Kṛmiśa on condition that the latter protected the Law of Buddha. Kṛmiśa accepted the proposal. Then the Yakṣa Daṁṣṭrānivāsin in order to lighten the task of Kṛmiśa seduced the guards of the king to the shores of the southern ocean where they got drowned. Puṣyamitra was crushed with his army under a rock thrown by Kṛmiśa.

There are two Chinese translations of the story one dated 300 A.D. by Ngan Fa-kin and the other dated 512 A.D. by Saṁghabhara. These are two very important sources to check the readings of the Sanskrit text in its present version. The translations however perfectly agree with the Sanskrit text so far as this portion of the story is concerned (Przyluski, *La légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, pp. 302-303). There are slight differences in the enumeration of the proper names. The name of the kingdom of Koṣṭhaka is faithfully transcribed in the second Chinese translation as *Kiu-sho-t'a-ko* and translated as "Granary." The first Chinese translation however gives the name as *T'eu-lo-kiue-ch'a* -**Thulakoṭa* (evidently Thullakoṭṭa<Sthūlakoṣṭha). The Yakṣa who lived there is mentioned in the first Chinese translation as "the Yakṣa who guarded the Law of Buddha" and in the second translation as "the Yakṣa who guarded the tooth of Buddha." The name of the Yakṣa Kṛmiśa is faithfully transcribed in the first translation as *Kin-mi-sho* **Kir-mi-śa* (=*Kṛmiśa*). The second translation gives it as *Ki-li-sho* which is evidently a mistake for *Ki-li-(mi)-sho* —*Kṛmiśa*.

Let us first consider the name of the country or rather the city where the event took place. The *Divyāvadāna* gives the name of the place as Koṣṭhaka but the oldest Chinese translation of the text gives it as Sthūlakoṣṭha. It seems that both the names were taken as identical and applied to the same place. In fact the name Sthūlakoṣṭhaka seems to have been better known than its abbreviated form. It is

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referred to in the *Avadānaśataka* (Ava. 90) in connection with the story of Bhikṣu Rāṣṭrapāla. The *Majjhimanikāya* (82) refers to a king called Koravya who was king at Sthūlakoṣṭhaka. In the *Theragāthā* (Engl. translation, p. 302) Thulakoṭṭhika is mentioned as a place in the Kuru country.[4] In the *Vinaya* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda it is said that Buddha, in course of his journey in the North-West, while going to Revata, passed by the city of 'Rice-Granary' (=Koṣṭhaka) where he converted the mother of King Uttarasena. We know from the account of Hiuan-tsang that Uttarasena was the king of Uḍḍiyāna. Koṣṭhaka or Sthūlakoṣṭhaka was therefore a city in the kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna (the Swat valley). It is however not certain if it was the same as the capital of that kingdom. Hiuan-tsang mentions the city of Meng-kie-li as the capital of the valley. It is the same as Maṅgalapura which is mentioned as the capital of another semi-mythical king of Uḍḍiyāna, Indrabodhi in the Tantrik Buddhist texts. Meng-kie-li or Maṅgalapura has been identified with modern Manglawar. This city was also known under another name in which Koṣṭha appears as an element. One of the Buddhist miniatures published by Foucher in his *Iconographie Bouddhique* (p. 121) mentions the god Vajrapāṇi of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Uḍḍiyāna. According to the Tantrik Buddhist tradition mentioned above it was king Indrabodhi who was responsible for establishing Vajrapāṇi in his capital Maṅgalapura. This shows that Maṅgakoṣṭha was only another name of Maṅgalapura, modern Manglawar.[5] Sthūlakoṣṭha or Koṣṭhaka mentioned in our texts was evidently in the same region but probably not identical with it.

The explorations which Sir Aurel Stein carried out in the Swat valley in 1926 brought to light a number of ancient sites of which the most important are Bīrkoṭ, Uḍegrām and Manglawar.[6] The distance between Bīrkoṭ and Manglawar is about ten miles. Uḍegrām occupies an intermediate position. The name Uḍegrām, according to Stein, still preserves the ancient name Uḍḍiyāna which is also found in various sources under the shortened forms Uḍa, Oḍa etc. Manglawar stands on the site of ancient Maṅgalapura but the ancient name for Bīrkoṭ is not yet known. The number of Buddhist ruins is much larger in this area than anywhere else in the Swat valley. About the Bīrkoṭ hill on which there are ruins of ancient fortifications, Stein says, "The natural strength of the hill, completely isolated and rising to close on six hundred feet above the riverine flat is so great and the

4 This would be Uttara-kuru.

5 For a fuller discussion on the identification of Manglawar see *Sino-Indian Studies*, I, p. 24 and my *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 38.

6 Sir A. Stein—*An Archæological Tour in Upper Swat and adjacent Hill tracts*, (*Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.*, 42).

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ruins on its top and slopes so extensive as to make it one of the most noteworthy sites in the whole of Swat." Amongst the finds, Stein brought back from this area numerous coins of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian and Indo-Scythian rulers, coins of Azes and Azilises were the most numerous. Stein is of opinion that Bīrkoṭ is the site of ancient Bajira of the Greeks which Alexander had to take by assault in course of his campaign in the Swat region. One of the modern names of Bīrkoṭ is also Bāri-koṭ. The identity of Bajira and the site of Bīr-koṭ may be considered as plausible but the derivation of the name Bīr from Bajira (>*Baira>Bīr) as suggested by Stein is unconvincing. Bāri would better stand for *Bara -Baḍa* "great, large" and hence would be the same as Sthūla. But I do not want to attach any great importance to the first part of the name which may be only a later addition. Koṭ<Koṣṭhaka was the real name of the place and it has every likelihood of being the ancient Sthūlakoṣṭha or Koṣṭhaka mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* and the other texts mentioned above. In fact this was the first town of importance through which one would pass in course of one's ascent up the Swat valley. While proceeding towards Kashmir by the Swat valley Koṣṭhaka would naturally be considered as the 'Gateway.'

The name Daṁṣṭrānivāsin given to the Yakṣa who lived in Koṣṭhaka also throws some light on the geographical position of the city. He is called Daṁṣṭrānivāsin as he was either living near or protecting the tooth-relic of Buddha. While speaking about the country of Uḍḍiyāna, the Chinese sources tells us that to the south-west of the country there was a mountain called *Tan-t'o*. Hiuan-tsang mentions the same mountain as Tan-t'o-lo-kia. This was the place where the Bodhisattva in one of his earlier existences as Prince Su-to-na (another name of Viśvantara) offered his body. The Chinese writers in their notes explain the name Su-to-na as "one who has good teeth" (Sudanta). The mountain was known as *Danta* or *Dantaloka* as the Prince Sudanta lived and made his sacrifices on it. This explanation of the Chinese scholiasts was accepted by Julien. Doubts however have been expressed on it by Chavannes and Watters, although no better explanation has been offered by them.[7] The fact remains that Hiuan-tsang was shown in the 7th century in the south-western part of the Swat region a mountain popularly known as Dantaloka or 'Tooth-mountain.' This story does not seem to be quite without bearing on the story of Daṁṣṭrā-nivāsin. The mountain mentioned by

7 Watters, *On Yuan-chwang*, I, p. 219; Chavannes, *Le Voyage de Song-yun*, *BEFEO.*, III, p. 413, notes 1 and 7. Chavannes, however, notes that Viśvantara is really called Sudaṁṣtra in the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* (p. 22, l. 18) and the *Lalitavistara* (p. 167, 21).

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Hiuan-tsang has been located in the region to the north of modern Shahbazgarhi. It was on the road from Puṣkalāvati (modern Charsadda) to the Swat valley. This is evidently the road contemplated in the *Divyāvadāna* account of the march of Puṣyamitra from Śākala to Koṣṭhaka or Sthūlakoṣṭhaka.

If we are allowed to search for materials for history in the Buddhist stories however altered they may be, we are immediately led to think of some foreign chiefs concealed under Yakṣa names who were responsible for the downfall of Puṣyamitra. Puṣyamitra, we know, had serious contest for power with the Greeks under Demetrius and Menander. Demetrius like the Yakṣa Kṛmiśa did not belong to India and led his campaign from Bactria. Neither Demetrius nor Kṛmiśa was Buddhist. Demetrius did not say in India subsequent to his invasion and it was left to the Buddhist king Menander to found a Greek kingdom in the Punjab with Śākala as its capital.

As both Demetrius and Kṛmiśa play the same rôle in relation to Puṣyamitra, it appears that they are identical. It is possible to equate the two names on strong phonological grounds. The name of Demetrius occurs under a significant form, Termed-Termeδ>Termez in the name of a city founded after him on the Oxus.[8] It is quite usual in some of the Iranian dialects for the dental spirant to degenerate into a *z*. We may therefore assume that the name under a form like Trimita had given rise to Trimiz through the intermediary of Trimiδ.[9] As to the initial *Tr* of Trimiz and *Kr* of Kṛmiśa there is evidence to prove that both were pronounced in the same manner in the North-Western Provinces in the area in which Dardic languages are spoken. In some of the Dardic languages *tr* and *kr* both result in θ, ∴. Cf. E.

8 Lévi—*JAs.*, 1933, p. 27, n.1; Lévi refers to a Tibetan colophon of a text already noticed by Cordier in which there is mention of a Vaibhāṣika Buddhist monk named Dharmamitra "who was a native of Tarmita on the Pakṣu." Pakṣu is the Vakṣu or the Oxus and Tarmita is Tarmed (Termez). The place is also mentioned by Hiuan-tsang as Ta-mi (*Tat-mit=*Tarmid) for Ta-mi, cf. Watters, *On Yuan-chwang*, I, p. 105.

9 Different forms of the name of Demetrius have been noted by Tarn—*Greeks in India and Bactria*, p. 458, n. 2 as Dattāmitra (Patañjali and the *Mahābhārata*), Devamantiya (*Milindapañha*), Dharmamita (*Yugapurāṇa*) Damtāmitiyaka or Datāmitiyaka—an inhabitant of Demetrias (Nasik Cave Inscr.), Demetriya (Coins) and Timitra (Besnagar Seal). Tarn notes another form as Dharmamitra by mistake as in the Tibetan colophon referred to above Dharmamitra is the name of the monk and the place to which he belonged is Tarmita. The only forms which are above suspicion are Demetriya of the coins and Tarmita (for Demetria) of the Tibetan colophon and the Chinese records. The existence of another form *Trimita* is made probable by the present accounts.

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Pashai θλĉi for 'three' and θλām for 'work.' In the Kohistan and Dir valleys also *tr kr* and *dr gr* >λ,*l*: λā for 'three,' and λam for 'work' (Morgenstierne—*Report on a Linguistic mission to North-Western India*, pp. 22, 29; also pp. 57 & 62 where he records similar facts from Kafir and Gawar-bati.[10] It is therefore quite likely that a name like Trimiz (<Trimiδa—Trimit<Trimita) took the form *Krimiz* and gave rise to Kṛmiśa of our texts. Thus it seems probable that Yakṣa Kṛmiśa of the *Divyāvadāna* story was no other than the Yavana Demetrius. Yakṣa in this story as well as in the story of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* therefore stands for Yavana or Greek. This name was probably suggested to the Indian writers by the names of the Selucid emperors. The name of Seleucos and Antiochos occur in the Cuneiform inscription as *Silukᵘ* (<*Silukṣu*) and *Antiukṣu*. The last part of the name *-ukṣu* might easily be taken by the foreigners as a dynastic name and approximated to a known Indian word like *Yakṣa*. The Seleucids were looked upon as the only legitimate Greek rulers in the East and all Greek chiefs might be represented as belonging to their family, either on account of their family relations or vassalage.

The story thus interpreted throws some light on the Greek campaign against Puṣyamitra. Demetrius undertook the invasion of India at the request of a Greek king ruling in Sthūlakoṣṭha in the Swat valley and this latter was a devout Buddhist, a protector of the law. The Greek attack was a two pronged attack. Demetrius attacked Puṣyamitra and his main army in the hilly region probably not very far from Swat valley from where it was possible to roll down big boulders from the top of the hills to crush the enemy. Another part of Puṣyamitra's army was attacked by the other Greek leader near the shores of the Southern sea, probably in the lower valley of the Indus. This is exactly how Strabo records the information derived from Apollodorus of Artemita (*Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 542). He says that the Greeks this time conquered more nations in India than Alexander and that these conquests had been achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemos, the king of the Bactrians. On one hand they crossed the Hypanis (*sic.* Hyphasis-Beas) and extended their conquests up to the Isamus (Jumna?) and on the other they got possession of Patalene, Saraostos

10 This seems to be an old characteristic of the Dardic speeches and may be traced back to the beginning of the Christian era. The name of the kingdom in the Lobnor region occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions as Kroraina (F. W. Thomas, *JGIS.*, XI, 45 ff.) but it is transcribed in the Han Annals as Lou-lan; *Kr.* had evidently degenerated into a *l* or λ by then.

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(Surāṣṭra?) and Sigerdis[11] (?). As is well known, Patañjali would have us believe that the Greeks invaded Sāketa in the North and Mādhyamika (Nagari near Chitor in the South). It is therefore the northern arm of the invasion which had reached Sāketa and the southern one Mādhyamika by way of the Indus valley. The *Yugapurāṇa* (*Gārgi Saṁhitā*) gives additional information on the thrust of the northern arm of the Yavana army. According to this source, the Greeks not only reduced Sāketa but also the Pañcāla country, Mathurā and Puṣpapura (Pāṭalīputra). So the northern route of the Greek campaign was Sthūlakoṣṭha, Śākala, Ahicchatra (Pañcāla), Mathurā, Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra and the southern route was Sthūlakoṣṭha,...Patalene, Straostos (Surāṣṭra?), Sigerdis (?) and Mādhyamika. The southern arm was evidently directed against the army of Puṣyamitra's son Agnimitra and his capital Vidiśā.[12]

The Buddhist account would have us believe that Puṣyamitra died as a result of the conflict with the Greeks. There is no positive evidence against it. If the Greek siege of Pāṭalīputra was lifted, it was not due to a defeat of the Greeks but due to troubles at home. The evidence of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* is quite clear on this point. It says that the Yavanas did not stay in Madhyadeśa on account of a cruel and dreadful war in their own kingdom. This has been supposed to be a reference to the struggle between Demetrius and Eucratides which ultimately led to the overthrow of the latter from the Bactrian throne (c. 175 B.C.). Therefore it is not impossible that the death of Puṣyamitra a little earlier on the frontiers made the Greek attack up to Pāṭalīputra an easy matter.

The theory that the Greeks were defeated by Puṣyamitra rests on the evidence of the *Mālaviḳāgnimitra* which is capable of a different interpretation. The drama refers to a conflict of Agnimitra while he was accompanying the sacrificial horse of his father with a body of Yavana cavalry on the right bank of the river Sindhu. The Yavana cavalry was defeated and this enabled Puṣyamitra to carry his Aśvamedha sacrifice to a successful conclusion.

This may be an earlier event of the reign of Puṣyamitra. It is wrong to believe that there were no Yavanas in India and specially in the Kabul valley prior to the invasion of Demetrius. There is of

11 Tarn (*ibid.*, p. 148) would identify it with the country between Patalene and Surastrene including Cutch.

12 Tarn (*ibid.*, p. 140) is of the same opinion. He says that there were two possible lines of advance from Taxila on either side of the Indian desert. The first line of advance was along the great road across the Punjab and by the Delhi passage to the Ganges and the Maurya capital Pāṭalīputra and the other southward down the Indus to its mouth and beyond.

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course no evidence to show that Greek principalities continued to exist even after the withdrawal of Eudemus at least in the Kabul valley though such a thing remains quite probable. We know that Yavana king Tuṣāspa was a governor under Aśoka. Aśoka mentions the kingdom of the Yavanas along with Gandhāra as a frontier kingdom. Antiochus III crossed the Hindukush sometime between 212 and 208 B.C. and marched down the Kabul valley to renew his friendship with local rulers and thus to re-establish his claim on the Indian provinces. This claim was probably more than a historical one and points out to the existence of some actual Greek interest in the Kabul valley. The account of the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, if looked at from this viewpoint seems to bring some confirmation to it. The Yakṣa king of Sthūlakoṣṭha who was responsible for inviting Demetrius to India belonged to the same race as the latter. The only difference was that the former was a convert to Buddhism and the latter a full fledged Greek. Therefore the Swat valley and the contiguous part of the Kabul valley seems to have been under the rule of a Greek family since earlier times and prior to the invasion of Demetrius. It was therefore quite possible for the troops of Agnimitra to come in conflict with a Greek cavalry on the right bank of the Indus during the early years of the reign of Puṣyamitra. This could not have been confused by Kālidāsa with the major Greek invasion of which the gravity is not concealed by the reference to it by Patañjali and the author of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*.

It is possible to offer some suggestions on the identity of the Greek king of Sthūlakoṣṭha who invited Demetrius. He has been described in the texts as the "Protector of Buddhism" and also as "The Protector of the Tooth relic of Buddha." He is also described as a devout Buddhist. He seems to be identical with king Buddha-pakṣa who became the ruler of Northern India after the fall of Puṣyamitra. He is said to have been charitable, attached to Buddhism and a builder of monasteries, gardens, caityas images, wells, etc. He thus emulated the example of Aśoka. Only one Greek ruler is known to have been a true follower of Aśoka as patron of Buddhism and this was Menander. We also know that it was Menander who became king over a certain portion of Northern India with his capital at Śākala (Sialkot) after the invasion of Demetrius. The name Buddhapakṣa does not carry us very far in the matter of identification. It simply means one who was on the side of Buddha i.e. a follower of Buddhism or a Śākyaputra. But the *Divyāvadāna* definitely calls him a "Protector of Buddhism." We know on the other hand that Menander was the first Greek king to adopt the title of *trāta*, "a saviour," "a protector." In fact he acted in this capacity by rallying the Greek forces against Puṣyamitra who had started on a systematic persecution of the Bud-

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dhists specially in the north-west. While describing the causes of the Greek invasion, the Purāṇas say that the Greeks came to India for the sake of "religion, cupidity or wealth" (*dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ*; Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 56, 74). It may be believed that the attack against Puṣyamitra was actuated by religious considerations (*dharmataḥ*).

If we accept this identification of Menander with Buddhapakṣa or the Yakṣa king of Sthūlakoṣṭha who was responsible for bringing Demetrius to his aid then we are led to believe that he was an Indo-Greek already ruling in the Kabul valley before the invasion of Demetrius took place and had no direct relation with the line of Euthydemos. His supposed relation to this line is based on the meagre statement in the *Milindapañha* that he was born in the village of Kalasi in Alasanda and on the assumption that this place which is indentified with Alexandria ad Caucasum (near Charikar) lay within the kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks (*Cambridge History*, I, p. 550). The numismatic record of Menander is so varied that it does not show any particular affiliation. Whereas he uses the "Elephant's head: Caduceus" types in common with Demetrius he also uses the "Nicaea" type in common with Eucratides who first usurped the Bactrian throne of Demetrius and later on subjugated his Indian territory in the Kabul valley. He also used other types of coins which had no such affiliations. It may be therefore argued that Menander did not belong to any of the two families, either of Euthydemos or of Eucratides but belonged to a family long settled in the Kabul valley.

The lafest archæological discoveries made in the Swat valley and Bajaur amply confirm this supposition. A relic casket with an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī was discovered in 1937 at Shirkot in Bajaur. The inscription records the dedication of an Indian Buddhist named Vijayamitra on the 25th day of Vaiśākha in the 5th year of the reign of Menander (Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 520). Besides, of the two big hoards of Menander's coins, one of 200 tetradrachms was found in Swat and another of 721 drachmae in the great Bajaur hoard (Tarn, *ibid.*, p. 229). The tetradrachms are in mint condition and the drachmae do not contain any sign of circulation. These clearly show that the earlier centre of Menander's activities was in the Swat region. Apparently in the fifth year of his reign he was still ruling in Swat. It is recognised by all that the country between the Kunar river and the Indus comprising modern Bajaur, Swat, Buner, the Yusufzai country and the country south of the Kabul river became the strong-hold of Greek power, a kind of new Hellas (Grousset, *Sur les traces de Buddha*, p. 96: Tarn, *ibid.*, p. 135). The special preference of this area by the Greeks might be better explained by supposing a continuance of Greek culture in this region since the time of Alexander.

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A word about the relation between Menander and Demetrius. The Buddhist texts discussed above tend to show that Demetrius married the daughter of Buddhapakṣa-Menander. Prof. Tarn has tried to prove but not on very strong grounds that Menander's queen Agathocleia was the daughter of Demetrius (*ibid.*, p. 225). Menander, according to him, rose from a very mean position, that of a commoner, born in the Paropanisadae. His father was probably a great landowner "a successor to one of those Iranian barons who figure so largely in the Alexander story" (*ibid.*, p. 141). In this case too Prof. Tarn's findings do not go against the Buddhist tradition discussed above.

According to this mode of argument the Buddhist texts would lead to the following conclusions:

(1) Puṣyamitra's reign must have started earlier than what is usually believed, and ended shortly before c. 175 B.C. Puṣyamitra died in course of his campaign in the north-west in an encounter with Demetrius. This must have occurred towards c. 176 B.C.

(2) The horse sacrifices of Puṣyamitra had been performed earlier in his reign and in fact inaugurated formally his patronage of the Brahmanical religion.

(3) Agnimitra's encounter with the Greek cavalry was a skirmish with some party of Indo-Greeks of the Kabul valley and has nothing to do with the main invasion of the Greeks.

(4) Menander was an Indo-Greek ruler of a certain portion of the Kabul valley most probably with his capital at Sthūlakoṣṭha in the Swat region. He asked for the help of Demetrius in checking the anti-Buddhist campaign of Puṣyamitra.

(5) When the victorious campaign was almost at an end Demetrius was forced to hurry back to Bactria (c. 175) to put down the rebellion of Eucratides leaving the territories conquered to Menander. The latter shifted his capital to Śākala, held his sway over the entire territory from the Kabul valley up to Midland.

(6) Demetrius ousted from the Bactrian throne became the king of the Indians and evidently the entire region to the west of the Indus including the lower Indus valley was handed over to him by Menander.

(7) Soon after, Eucratides wrested the Kabul valley from either Demetrius or his successor Apollodotus. Menander who had a long reign was left undisturbed.

(8) As the Buddhist texts do not speak much about Menander's successors (the line ending with his son), the Indo-Greek kingdom to the west of the Indus with its capital at Śākala, soon much circumscribed, passed into the hands of the successors of Demetrius who had been pushed further eastwards by the rulers of the rival house.

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North-West Frontier Policy of Lord Lawrence

'Scientific Frontier' verses 'Close Border'

After the annexation of Sind in 1843 and the Punjab in 1849, the British administrators turned their attention to the problem of the defence of the North West Frontier. The first problem to be solved was that of fixing and defining the frontier. There were two different schools of frontier policy—'forward school' and the 'close border school.' The Sind administrators favoured the policy of a scientific frontier (i.e., the occupation of Quetta, Candahar, Cabul and Herat) while the Punjab 'Wardens of the Marches' were the exponents of the policy of 'close border,'[1] (i.e. the Indus frontier or the frontier running along the foot of the hills). Sir John Lawrence lent the weight of his authority on the side of the latter and it was his great influence and prestige which created a tradition of the policy of 'masterly inactivity.'

Lord Lawrence was the chief exponent of the Indus frontier. He discussed this question in his letter (dated 21st October 1858) to the Government of India.[2] He was of opinion that from Kalabagh northwards, the frontier line should be the river Indus instead of the base of the hill ranges westward of the river and that the wisest policy would be to give up the Peshawar and Kohat districts to the Afghan Government on a fitting opportunity.[3] The chief argument for the abandonment of the Peshawar and Kohat districts was their insalubrity and unfitness for permanent location of European troops.[4] The Indus constituted a suitable frontier boundary.[5] "The river itself is a mighty barrier, being broad, deep and rapid. The line of the river is far shorter than the present frontier line, and therefore defensible at a far less cost in every respect. In the rear of the line there are several salubrious places eminently fitted for the location of European troops. On the present frontier many fortified places are necessary. Although the points at which an invader could emerge from the passes are known, yet we must hold in strength not only these points but also the whole line, owing to the character of the hill tribes. In the event of invasion we need not confine ourselves absolutely to the defence of the Indus line; offensive measures might be combined with defensive at the discretion of the General of the day."[6] During the period of

1 *Cambridge History of India,* vi, xxv.

2 Punjab Government to Government of India 21 Oct. 1858; Pol. A. Progs.; Jan. 1868; No. 154.

3 *Ibid.* 4 *Ibid.* 5 *Ibid.* 6 *Ibid.*

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the Mutiny. Lawrence proposed that Peshawar should be evacuated.[7] Edwards regarded Peshawar as 'the anchor' of the Punjab, the removal of which would have caused the whole ship to drift to sea.[8] Lord Canning telegraphed to Lawrence, "Hold on to Peshawar to the last."[9] Lord Canning was right in rejecting Lord Lawrence's policy of the 'Indus frontier'; the greatest military authorities are of opinion that a river is not a good line of defence, in that it can always be forced by an enterprising general.[10] The history of invasions from Central Asia bears eloquent testimony to the fact that the Indus has never constituted a real barrier.[11] General Frederick Roberts expressed his opinion as follows :—"The Indus seems to me an impossible frontier for the following reasons :—From Attock to Karachi is a distance of nearly 1,000 miles and a long river can never form a satisfactory line of defence. Between the Indus and the Hindu Kush are a succession of mountain ranges, and unless we could be certain of what was happening on 'the other side of the hill' it would be impossible to prevent an enemy from crossing them, and debouching on the plains of India when and where it pleased."[12]

The real dispute, however, turned on the question whether the administrative boundary which the British Government inherited from the Sikhs was a satisfactory line of defence. This administrative boundary may be briefly described as follows :—

Starting from a barrier of snowy peaks, from 15,000 to 20,000 feet high, in Cashmere, the British frontier line ran south-west to the Indus, followed the river round the Bonair Hills, bent westward to circuit the Peshawar plain, made a loop to avoid the Kohat Pass, and then ran in a generally southern direction at the foot of the higher ranges to near Mithunkote, where the frontier of the Punjab ended.[13] The forntier line then left the immediate neighbourhood of the Suleiman range, crossed the plain of Kutchee in a westerly and south-westerly direction till it neared the Gundava Hill west of Shikarpore; followed then the range near Sehwan, whence it ran south thrcugh the hills till it met the Hub river, followed it to the sea.[14] This part of the frontier was under Sind. As a gneral rule the whole frontier avoided the highest and most inaccessible ranges.[15]

7 Morison, *From Burnes to Roberts*, p. 13.

8 *Idem.*, p. 14.

9 Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 5.

10 *Ibid.* 11 *Ibid.*

12 Robert's Note on 'What are Russia's vulnerable points?' 22nd May 1885; Minutes, Notes, etc. by Roberts 1877--Dec. 1889, vol. VI. Part I, p. 71.

13 Memorandum by Sir Bartle Frere 22 March 1876 (Sind and Punjab Frontier Systems).

14 *Ibid.* 15 *Ibid.*

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Lord Lawrence was firmly convinced of the advantages of this administrative boundary. He was strongly opposed to any forward move beyond the trans-Indus hills.[16] He was of opinion that the best place for finally resisting a foreign invasion was on this frontier.[17] "By advancing beyond that frontier we should only be playing the game of our enemies."[18]

Although Lord Lawrence failed to convince Lord Canning of the necessity of modifying the frontier boundary line so as to coincide with the Indus, his fundamental creed of 'masterly inactivity' stood the test of time. Sir John Lawrence firmly adhered to this policy although the advance of Russia (during the regime of his viceroyalty) considerably alarmed Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Green and Sir Bartle Frere, who advocated occupation of Quetta. The civil war in Afghanistan (1863-1868) would have been a good opportunity for a Viceroy believing in a scientific frontier to extend and strengthen British influence in Afghanistan. But Lord Lawrence was strongly opposed to any advance beyond the frontier. This frontier had indeed much to recommend it. The foot of the hills offer a well-defined line, whereas once the hills are entered it is difficult to know where to stop. Rich plains are easily overrun and held and they respond to the benefits conferred by improved administration. Wild mountain tracts are difficult to traverse and subdue; and when subdued, their administration presents a still more difficult task.[19] The advantages, indeed, of this frontier were so great that all the members of Sir John Lawrence's Council were unanimous in their opinion that in case of war with Russia their proper position should be below the great range of mountains which bound the Indian empire in the north-west.[20]

The advocates of a scientific frontier were however of opinion that, as a great strategical line, the frontier was dangerously and fatally defective. "The theory of awaiting attack behind a mountain range belongs to the pre-Napoleonic period of military science, and to the time of wars of position, when armies manoeuvered opposite each other for months, and the capture of one town was considered a sufficient result of a year's campaign. Napolean shattered this theory, with many others; and in every instance, where such defective strategy has since been adopted it has resulted in utter defeat and ruin. Modern military authorities are agreed that the value of an obstacle, such as a great river, or a mountain range, depends upon the command, on both sides of the points of passage, and on the

16 Punjab Government to Government of India 21 Oct. 1858, *op. cit.*
17 *Ibid.* 18 *Ibid.*
19 Lytton's Minute 4 Oct. 1878; Parl. Papers 1881 (C-2811).
20 Despatch to Argyll 4 Jan. 1869; Afghanistan Blue Book No. I (1875).

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power of operating at will on either side of the obstacle. To the combatant who securely holds the passes it is of incalculable value, enabling him to mask his movements, to concentrate his force in safety, and to strike at will; or to hold his adversary in check while maturing his defence or preparing his counterstroke. To him who does not command the passes, it is on the other hand, a barrier which hampers his movements; and a screen which masks and protects his enemy. Hence the value of the great German fortresses on the Rhine and of the former Austrian fortresses in the Italian Quadrilateral; and hence the value to France of Nice and Savoy, which give her the command of the passes of the Alps."[21] The reasoning seems logical and almost flawless and yet the scheme of pushing the frontier to the Hindu Kush mountains did not take into consideration the chief objection against the scientific frontier viz. its disproportionately large expenditure. The Second Afghan War discredited the schemes of a scientific frontier and demonstrated the soundness of the views of Sir John Lawrence on frontier policy.

The Military Defence of the Frontier

To Sir Henry Lawrence belongs the credit of organising the military defence of the frontier.[22] He created the Punjab Irregular Force which was aided by the Guides "the eyes and quick intelligence of the whole line."[23] The Guides were an interesting and remarkable corps. There was scarcely a wild or warlike tribe in Upper India which was not represented in its ranks.[24] The corps was raised to perfection by its commandant, popularly known, as Lumsden of the Guides.[25] To this force, the defence of the frontier was entrusted; except at Peshawar, the key of the Khyber Pass, where there was a large regular force.[26] The Punjab Irregular Force was commanded by the Brigadier General, acting under the authority of the civil Government of the Punjab; the Peshawar division remained under the Commander-in-Chief.[27] Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief in India, in submitting his Report on, the Trans-Indus Frontier on 5th July 1862 to the Government of India

21 Lytton's Minute 4 Oct. 1878, *op. cit.*

22 Morison, *Lawrence of Lucknow*, pp. 233-234.

23 *Ibid.* and also Minute by Lowis 8 June 1853; *Punjab Administration Report 1849-51*, p. 324.

24 *Punjab Administration Report 1849-51*, pp. 24-32 and Lumsden and Elsmie, *Lumsden of the Guides*, pp. 66-67.

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Punjab Administration Report*, p. 324; *op. cit.*

27 Minute by Lt. Governor of the Punjab 3 Dec. 1862; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; No. 103.

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severely criticised the mixed command existing in the Trans-Indus territory.[28] He criticised this system from three points of view:

(i) The Commander-in-Chief in India though responsible for the military protection of India and the Punjab had no control over the Trans-Indus frontier, one of the most important parts of India. He was not even informed of the nature of operations carried on by a large force of all arms of the Punjab Irregular Force.

(ii) The Punjab Irregular Force was organised without reference to, or consultation with the Commander-in-Chief and that too on principles considered as unsafe by all the best Indian authorities. Firstly it was considered inadvisable that the Native Army should be armed with a rifle. But the Punjab Force was thus armed. Secondly concentration of large numbers of native troops of all arms and their separation from British troops was considered unsafe. The principle was not followed. Thirdly the Government of India had lately abolished Native artillery in the armies of India because the experience of the Mutiny led them to the conclusion that it was unsafe. The Punjab Force had considerable native Artillery.

(iii) The state of the Sind frontier was precisely similar to that of the Punjab; yet the command of the troops on the Sind frontier was vested in the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, whilst that of the troops of the Trans-Indus frontier was withdrawn from that of the Commander-in-Chief in India. "A system which answers perfectly well in Sind would answer equally well in the prolongation of the same line—the Trans-Indus Frontier."[29]

The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab made a spirited defence of the Punjab system of mixed commands.[30] Attaching more weight to experience than to theory, he judged the system by its fruits. "I observe that the public service had previously been impeded by the jealousies of Military and Political officers, that the Military officers were slow to act and the Politicals backward in giving information and other assistance; that a successful campaign against hill tribes was regarded as a difficult operation, requiring large forces and much preparation; that even under the guidance of very distinguished Generals, success was not always attained; that delay is the one thing which encourages the enemy and immediate action the one thing that res-

28 Sir Hugh Rose's Report 5 July 1862; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865: No. 103.
29 *Ibid.*
30 Lt. Governor's Minute 3 Dec. 1862 *op. cit.*

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trains and overawes him."[31] The Lieutenant Governor was decidedy of the opinion that the Punjab System had been successful in eliminating these weaknesses from the frontier system.[32] Eighteen successful expeditions had been organized against the marauding tribes, showing thereby that "we have struck frequently, vigorously, victoriously."[33] Sir John Lawrence agreed with the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab that the experiment of mixed command was successful and should be continued.[34] The advocates of 'Forward Policy' were, however, very keen on the transfer of the Punjab Force to the Commander-in-Chief in India. Thus Lord Lytton later on while considering the question of the reorganization of the frontier was of opinion that the military force of the Trans-Indus should pass under the control of the Commander-in-Chief.[35]

Administrative Organization of the Frontier Districts

In order to check the marauding tribes, Major James, Commissioner of Peshawar Division was of opinion that "we should be continually cognizant of all those internal occurrences which form the spring of all the actions of the tribes.[36] But the Commissioner being burdened with civil business had not much leisure to perform his political duties efficiently.[37] The political duties were made up of the correspondence with Afghanistan, and watching that country and the management of the border tribes, which necessitated frequent interviews and discussions with their representatives.[38] Moreover, owing to the difficulty of appreciating the land tenures of the Peshawar division, the character of the people as witnesses in criminal cases and the requisite degree of protection against crime, Major James considered that the jurisdiction exercised by the Financial and Judicial Commissioners had not worked well.[39] Major James proposed two measures of reform :—

(i) The first was to double the political charge of the Commissioner by extending it southwards down to Dehra Ismael Khan and to vest him with the powers of the Financial and

31 Lt. Governor's Minute 3 Dec. 1862 *op. cit.*

32 *Ibid.* 33 *Ibid.*

34 Government of India to Adjutant General 29 March 1864; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; Nos. 112 and 113.

35 Reorganization of the frontier by Lytton 22 Apl. 1877; Parl. Papers 1878 (C-1898).

36 James to Punjab Government 27 Jan. 1864; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; No. 105. 37 *Ibid.*

38 Punjab Government to Government of India 12 Feb. 1864; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; No. 104. 39 *Ibid.*

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separating it from the less advanced Trans-Indus country and constituting the latter into a Chief Commissionership. Major James and Sir Henry Maine thus anticipated the proposals of Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon for forming a separate Frontier Government, administered, under the direct control of the Government of India, by a Chief Commissioner and Governor General's Agent.[46] Sir John Lawrence was however too much wedded to the Punjab system to modify it by this fundamental change in the frontier administration.[47] He was shrewed enough to realise that if this plan was accepted it would only lead to the extension of the system to the borders of Sind.[48] "But such an arrangement would cause a complete bouleversement of all the administration of the border, and would entail on the state a large extra expenditure."[49]

(ii) The second and alternative plan was to relieve the Commissioner from the greater portion of the executive details of his appointment, and allow that such work as that of disposing of sessions cases and civil and criminal appeals be performed by some one else.[50] Sir John Lawrence opposed this plan also because "a division of duty is a division of power and influence. If there is any one portion of British India rather than another in which it is of vital importance that control over different departments should rest in one authority, it is on the Peshawar frontier."[51] Sir Robert Warburton who governed the Khyber for 18 years (1879-1898) criticised this aspect of the policy of Sir John Lawrence.[52] He agreed with Major James that the frontier district officers were too much burdened with the details of civil work to give time and thought to the understanding of the political problems connected with the management of the tribes.[53] He was of opinion that the early Punjab system was a great success because able and selected wardens of the Marches such as Edwardes, Mackeson, Abbot, Lawrence (George), Nicholson and Lumsden had more command of time and leisure than fell to the lot of the district

46 Lytton's Political Despatch to Salisbury; No. 86; 17 May 1877 Parl. Papers 1878 (C-1898) and Curzon's Minute 27 Aug. 1900 Parl. Papers 1901 (od-456) pp. 124-150.

47 Lawrence's Minute 11 May 1864; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; No. 107.

48 *Ibid.*

49 *Ibid.*

50 James to Punjab Government 27 Jan. 1864, *op. cit.*

51 Lawrence's Minute 11 May 1864, *op. cit.*

52 Warburton: *Eighteen Years in the Khyber*, pp. 315-340.

53 *Ibid.*

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officers of later times and thus worked wonders in checking crime and bringing under proper control their troublesome districts.[54] His suggestion was that the district officers should carry on civil work and the political and police officers should undertake the trans-border police duties.[55] In fact Sir Robert Warburton, like Major James, favoured a more forward policy in their dealings with the tribes.

Sir John Lawrence rejected both the proposals of Major Adams chiefly on the ground that too much of leisure was liable to lead to a policy of interference with tribal affairs.[56] "It is well known that political offices with no legitimate duties of administration often unduly interfere in the concerns of the chiefs to whom they are accredited and thus raise up feelings of ill-will and animosity towards the British Government."[57] Lord Lawrence was firmly of opinion that while the chief civil authority "should carefully watch what may be going on, while he should never fail to be alive to all that may be passing among them so far as it bears on the public tranquillity, and while he should be very accessible to their representations, he cannot do better than to leave their affairs alone and employ himself on his own civil duties."[58] Here in a nutshell is the policy of *laissez faire*, so prominently associated with the name of Sir John Lawrence.

The Relations of the British Government with the Punjab Frontier Tribes

The British Government had to face great difficulties in the management of the Afghan tribes. The tribes had no recognized chiefs and thus it was not possible to influence them through their chiefs.[59] Their national constitution was republican rather than aristocratic.[60] Every tribe was divided and sub-divided into numerous clans, each independent of the other and yielding but small obedience to its own petty headman; constantly indulging in internecine war; hating each other with the hatred begotten of generations of blood feuds; with interests ever in collision, and only uniting under the most exceptional circumstances against a common enemy.[61] Control exercised over such tribes through their chiefs was impossible, for the chiefs did not exist.[62] With them the only policy which showed hope of success was, in peaceful times, to render the whole tribe friendly by conciliatory, just and liberal treatment, and

54 *Ibid.* 55 *Ibid.*

56 Lawrence's Minute 11 May 1864, *op. cit.*

57 *Ibid.* 58 *Ibid.*

59 Punjab Frontier Memorandum by Lepel Griffin (Sind and Punjab Frontier Systems).

60 *Ibid.* 61 *Ibid.* 62 *Ibid.*

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by encouraging their settlement in British territory; and when times of difficulty arose, to divide the hostile tribe by playing the interests of one section against those of the others.[63]

Different methods of coercion were tried to check the marauding tribes. The most simple method of punishing a refractory tribe, and in many cases the most effectual, was to inflict a fine and demand compensation for plundered property or for lives lost.[64] When the tribe was dependent upon trade with British territory, or when a portion resided within British limits, or was easily accessible from the plains to the attack of a military force, the demand for payment of fine and compensation was usually acceded to.[65] If the demand was refused, hostages were demnded, or members of the tribe and their property found within British territory were seized, until such time as the compensation and fine were paid.[66] The British Government punished in this manner the Suleman Kheyl Ghilzyes who attacked and plundered the encampment of their enemies the Kherotees in British territory near Manjhee in the Tank Ilaqa on 6th January 1866.[67]

Against some tribes, a blockade was an effective means of punishment.[68] But this method of punishment could only be employed against such tribes as traded with British territory. During the continuance of a blockade the offending tribe was prohibited from entering British territory and any members found there were arrested.[69] This means of punishment was often found most effectual and was preferable to a military expedition which left behind it bitter memories in the destruction of property and loss of life.[70] This method of punishment was successfully employed to settle the Kohat Pass dispute.[71] Blockade was also enforced against the Bezottee clan of the Dowlatzai section of the Orukzaies, who made a raid in January 1868 into British territory and fired on the police posts at the Goblun Pass.[72]

63 *Ibid.*, and Our Punjab Frontier by a Punjab Official; Pol. A. Progs.; Jan. 1869; No. 53 and Memorandum by Thornton 18 Nov. 1867; Afghanistan Blue Book No. I (1875) pp. 26-31.

64 Davies: *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 25. 65 *Ibid.*

66 Punjab Frontier Memorandum by Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*

67 Graham to Pollock 6 Feb. 1866 and 26 March 1866 and Pollock to Punjab Government 19 Feb. 1866; Pol. A. Progs.; Apl. 1866; No. 150

68 Griffin, *op. cit.* 69 *Ibid.* 70

71 Cavagnari's Report; Pol. A. Progs.; Apl. 1867
ernment to Govt. of India; 10 Apl. 1865; Pol.
and also Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; No. 90; Jan
No. 22; Apl. 1867; No. 83; Apl. 1867; No. 162

72 Pol. A. Progs.; Apl. 1868; Nos. 219, 221.

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The military expedition was only resorted to as a last resource for punishing the tribe. Thus military expeditions were organised against Bizoti Brakzaies[73] and the Black Mountain tribes[74] in 1868.

Methods of conciliation were also adopted. When Dost Mohammad was once asked by a British official as to the best mode of dealing with the tribes, he said "Give them land."[75] The British Governmet made some attempts at the establishment of colonies in British territory. A very interesting experiment was tried by the location of a portion of the Mahsood Wuzeeree tribe in British territory.[76] Another method of conciliating the tribes was by enrolling the sons and relations of the chiefs in the Frontier Militia. In 1865 it was decided to give some of the rough Mahsood Wuzeerees service in their border.[77] When the tribe appeared to be in a penitent mood the British Government restored to it the confiscated lands. Thus the Haleemzye Momunds were permitted to re-occupy in 1866 the lands of the villages of Punjpao from which they had been expelled in 1863, on the payment of a fine of Rs. 2,000 in return for the injuries which had been committed by them.[78]

The Relations of the British Government with the Sind Frontier Tribes

The British Government found it compartively easier to control the tribes of Baluchistan. The Belooch tribes had a tendency towards an aristocratic and oligarchical form of Government, rendering obedience and service to their acknowledged chiefs, who were thus the natural channel of communication with their tribesmen and through whom any desired amount of control could be effectively exercised.[79] The Khan of Khelat exerted a certain amount of control over these tribes.[80] The British Government therefore followed the policy of strengthening the influence of the Khan of Khelat. Major John Jacob made a treaty with the Khan of Khelat in 1854, by which the Khan was to receive an annual subsidy of Rs. 50,000 to control

73 *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India,* ii, pp. 211-216.

74 *Idem.* i, pp. 111-133.

75 Sir Hugh Rose: Report on Trans-Indus Frontier 5 July 1862; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; No. 103.

76 Graham to Pollock 8 Aug. 1865; Pol. A. Progs.; Jan. 1866; No. 88 and Progs. of Government of India, Foreign Department 18 Dec. 1865; Pol. A. Progs.; Jan. 1866; No. 89.

77 Graham to Pollock 8 Aug. 1865; Pol. A. Progs.; Jan. 1866; No. 88.

78 Becher to Punjab Government 10 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs.; Apl. 1866; No. 17.

79 Griffin, *op. cit.*

80 Green's suggestions for the protection of the N.-W. Frontier of India; Parl. Papers 1879(73).

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the tribes and maintain law and order.[81] But the Khan, Meer Khodad Khan, failed to check the marauding activities of the two most powerful tribes—the Boogtees and the Murees, and therefore Sir John Lawrence while renewing the Treaty with the Khan on 5th November 1864, which provided an annual subsidy of Rs. 50,000, issued orders that the special subsidy of Rs. 50,000 (in addition to the annual subsidy) would not be granted.[82] The Boogtee and Muree tribes gave much trouble to the Khan of Khelat and the British Government. Therefore on 16th August 1866, Sir Henry Green made certain suggestions for the defence of the North West Frontier.[83] He proposed the occupation of Quetta, the special subsidy of Rs. 50,000 to the Khan of Khelat, the increase in the strength of the Sind Horse and the grant of service to 200 of the best horsemen of the Muree tribe.[84] Long experience of semi-barbarous tribes had proved to Sir Henry Green that 'nothing tames them so much as regular pay and food; once having touched this, they seldom return to their old habits, and their families and relations partaking, to a certain degree, of the little luxuries which ready money enables them to procure, urge them to remain peaceable members of society."[85] Sir Henry Green therefore believed that by the grant of service to 200 of the best horsemen of the Muree tribe, the whole tribe would be gradually brought under subjection.[86] Sir John Lawrence rejected these proposals—"So long as the British Government is hard pressed to find the means wherewith to develop the resources of its own territory and to complete the lines of interior communication throughout the Empire, His Excellency in Council cannot think of expending funds on a project the advantages of which are regarded by the Government of India as inappreciable, if not altogether visionary."[87]

The chief difficulty in controlling the Muree tribe was due to the fact that the Punjab and Sind authorities followed divergent policies in dealing with the tribes.[88] The Murees who were inaccessible to reprisal and retaliation organised raids with the connivance of the Boogtees.[89] The Boogtees acted, as it were, the part of the pilot fish to the more independent Muree sharks in their rear.[90] But the Boogtee tribes were treated differently by the Punjab and Sind

81 Green's suggestions for the protection of the N.-W. Frontier of India; Parl. Papers 1879(73).

82 Govt. of India to Bombay Govt. 17 Jan. 1867; Parl. Papers 1879(73).

83 Green's suggestions *op. cit.*

84 *Ibid.*

85 *Ibid.*

86 *Ibid.*

87 Government of India to Bombay Government 17 Jan. 1867 *op. cit.*

88 Graham to Punjab Government 11 Feb. 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; Apl. 1867; No. 89.

89 *Ibid.*

90 *Ibid.*

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authorities.[91] Thus the Punjab Government had for many years past found it useful to employ in their service subordinate Boogtee chiefs with their clansmen, who had frequently rendered great service and supplied the Government with valuable information.[92] The Sind authorities complained of the Punjab Government receiving and rewarding men who had been excluded from favour by their Government.[93] Lt. Sandeman, Deputy Commissioner, Dehra Ismael Khan made his mark by taking the initiative in arranging a meeting at Kusmore in 1867 between Punjab and Sind authorities.[94] The result was that close co-operation was established between the Punjab and Sind authorities and Gholam Hossein, the Boogtee freebooter, was defeated and killed while organising a raid on the Hurrund border.[95] The way was thus prepared for Captain Sandeman to inaugurate a new policy of maintaining friendly relations with the Murees.[96] Since the annexation of Sind (1843) the British Government had followed a policy of hostility towards the Murees.[97] The reason was that the Murees did not trade with the British territories and lived on the plunder of villages.[98] The policy was therefore adopted of keeping up good relations with those tribes in direct connection with the British Government and isolating the Murees.[99] But the policy proved a miserable failure, for the British Government failed to check the raids of the Murees.[100] Captain Sandeman therefore decided to try a new experiment—to engage the interests of the Muree chiefs on the British side.[101] The giving of rent free lands to the border chiefs as well as places in the Militia had proved a successful measure with other tribes.[102] Captain Sandeman had also received excellent service from Gholam Mortza, the chief of the Boogtees, in return for having bestowed on him eleven places in the Militia.[103] Captain Sandeman was successful in establishing friendly relations with the Murees by making arrangements to place at the Muree capital ten Police Sowars and to bestow on the chief of the Murees five places in the frontier Militiia.[104] This was the humble beginning of that system of tribal service which was later on to prove so useful to Sir Robert Sandeman in civilizing Beloochistan.[105]

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91 Graham to Punjab Govt. 11 Feb. 1867; Pol. A. Progs.: Apl. 1867 No. 80
92 *Ibid.* 93 *Ibid.* 94 *Ibid.* 95 *Ibid.*
96 Commissioner, Derajat to Punjab Government 6 May 1868; Pol. A Progs.; June 1868; No. 83.
97 Sandeman to Commissioner, Derajat 11 Dec. 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; June 1868; No. 83. 98 *Ibid.* 99 *Ibid.* 100 *Ibid.*
101 *Ibid.*, 102 *Ibid.* 103 *Ibid.* 104 *Ibid.*
105 Thornton, *Sir Robert Sandeman*, pp. 301-315.

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Paramārthasāra and Śrī Bhāgavata

Paramārthasāra (=*P. S.*) attributed to Ādiśeṣa or Patañjali was adapted to the Pratyabhijña system by Abhinavagupta and commented on by Yoga Rāja[1]. As an Advaita work it is interpreted by Rāghavānanda[2] and Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa[3]. There is no doubt as to the Advaitic trend of the whole work and certain similarities between *P. S.* and Gauḍapāda's Kārikās have been pointed out[4]. Between the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda and *Śrī Bhāgavata* there are certain points of comparison but it is not possible to decide whether the author of *Śrī Bhāgavata* (=*Bh°.*) borrowed directly from Gauḍapāda[5]. I have assigned Śrī Śaṃkara to the close of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century[6] and his guru's guru Gauḍapāda may be assigned to the beginning of the sixth century. I have also shown that the two Bhāgavatas—*Devī Bhāgavata* and *Śrī Bhāgavata* must be assigned to the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh[7]. *Śrī Bhāgavata* seems to have existed and been known to Śrī Śaṃkara, judging from his commentary on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* and *Govindāṣṭaka*. Therefore it is not improbable that the Bhāgavatakāra drew upon Gauḍapāda kārikās. The Bhāgavata reveals that it is an eclectic work adapted to Vaiṣṇavism and Advaita, making use of numerous *prakaraṇa granthas* then current.

It has been suggested that the *Bh°* did not directly draw upon Gauḍapāda kārikās but more probably from *P. S.* attributed to Patañjali or Śeṣa and therefore there is no necessity to doubt the relationship between Gauḍapāda and Śaṃkara[8]. As shown above even if we accept direct borrowing from the kārikās in the *Bh°*, the relationship between Gauḍapāda, Śaṃkara and the *Bh°* is consistent with the chronology. The *P. S.* has an antique appearance and there are striking resemblances between *P. S.* and *Bh°* not only regarding Sāṅkhya-yōga, Advaita and Bhakti but also close verbal similarities. Therefore *Bh°* may be proved to have borrowed from *P. S.* also.

1 *J. R. A. S.* 1911. 2 *Trivandrum Skt. Series*, No. 12.
3 *Laghumañjūṣā* of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa 1925
4 *N. I. A.* Series *IV*. Ed. S. S. Surya Narayana Śāstrī. 1914
5 *Bull. S. O. S., VIII*, 1, p. 107.
6 *Proc. VIII Oriental Conference*. 1935; *Q. J. M. S.*, XXI, 1930; *I.H.Q.*. 1938
7 The Two Bhāgavatas—*Annals. B. O. R. I., XIV*, 1934.
8 *N. I. A.* Series. *IV*. p. x. f. n.

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Two sections of *Bh°*, *viz.* Kapila-Devahūti conversation in the third skandha and the Uddhava-gītā section in the eleventh skandha deal particularly with Sāṅkhya-yoga as expounded in the *Bhagavad Gītā* and in Advaita. In fact many words and verses are repetitions in the two sections of the *Bh°*.

अर्थे ह्यविद्यमानेऽपि संसृतिर्न निवर्तते ।
ध्यायतो विषयानस्य स्वप्नेऽनर्थागमो यथा ॥

(Skandha III. 22. 4=XI. 22. 55)

देवहूतिः—पुरुषं प्रकृतिं ब्रह्मन् न विमुञ्चति कर्हिचित् ।
अन्योन्याऽपाश्रयत्वाच्च नित्यत्वादनयोः प्रभो ॥

(Skandha III. 27. 17)

उद्धवः—प्रकृतिः पुरुषश्चोभौ यद्यप्यात्मविलक्षणौ ।
अन्योन्यापाश्रयात् कृष्ण दृश्यते न भिदा तयोः ॥

(Skandha XI. 22. 26)

देहञ्च तं न चरमः स्थितमुत्थितं वा सिद्धो विपश्यति यतोऽध्यगमत् स्वरूपम् ।
दैवादुपेतमथ दैववशादपेतम् वासो यथा परिकृतं मदिरामदान्धः ॥
देहोऽपि दैववशगः खलु कर्म यावत्स्वारम्भकं प्रतिसमीक्षत एव सासुः ।
तं स प्रपञ्चमधिरूढसमाधियोगः स्वाप्नं पुनर्न भजते प्रतिबुद्धवस्तुः ॥

(Sk. III-28-37. 38=XI-13-36. 37)

These two verses repeated in the *Bh°* clearly point to the doctrine of Jīvanmukti which is also the central teaching of the *P. S.*

The verbal and doctrinal points of agreement between *P. S.* and *Bh°* start from the very beginning of the Kapila-Devahūti section.

परम्परस्याः प्रकृतेरनादिमेकं निविष्टं बहुधा गुहासु ।
सर्वालयं सर्वचराचरस्थं त्वामेव विष्णुं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥

(*P. S.* I. 1.)

परं प्रधानं पुरुषं महान्तं कालं कविं त्रिवृतं लोकपालम् ।
आत्मानुभूत्वाऽनुगतप्रपञ्चं स्वच्छन्दशक्तिं कपिलं प्रपद्ये ॥

(*Bh°* III-24-33).

Compare :

Bhāgavata	*Paramārthasāra*	*Bhāgavata*	*Paramārthasāra*
III—24-33.39.	I—1.	III—27-1. 2. 3	I—13. 14.
III—25-10.11.	I—4.	III—27. 9. 10.	I—16a.
III—26-5.9.	I—6.7	III—28. (Yoga)	I—20.
III—26-10.	I—9	III—28-40	I—47
III—26-18. 29	I—10	III—28-41	I—38. 42.

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Bhāgavata	*Paramārthasāra*	*Bhāgavata*	*Paramārthasāra*
III—28-16,-25-16.	I—29.	III—27-2	I—41
III—29.(Three states)	I—31.	III—27-11	I—9
III—25-13	I—84,85,86.	III—27-23	I—43
III—25-21	I—78	III—27-25	I—60
III—25-27	I—39	III—27-28(Kaivalya)	I—70
III—25-40. 41	I—67. 68.	III—28-35	I—71,
III—26-2.	I—72. 73	III—28-40-43	I—74,27,37, 19, 42
III—26-53.(Virāṭ).	I—10		
III—27-1. 12.	I—23	III—29-21.	I—67.
		III—29-30	I—86.

The central doctrine of this section of the *Bh°* and *P. S.* is Jīvan-mukti in the light of Sāṁkhya-yoga reconciled to Bhakti. Salvation here alone is indicated by Kapila.

असेवया यं प्रकृतेर्गुणानां ज्ञानेन वैराग्यविजृम्भितेन ।
योगेन मय्यर्पितया च भक्त्या मां प्रत्यगात्मानमिहावरुन्धे ॥

(III-25-27, also III-28-37-38)

The non-destruction of *prārabdha karma* until the death of the body is the universally accepted doctrine in Advaita and therefore to doubt the geniuneness of the verse 38 of *P. S.*, simply because v. 43 speaks of the destruction of all *karmas* (in plural) by *Brahma-jñāna* is not possible[9].

Śrī Śaṁkara in the Bhāṣya on the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* and Padma-pādācārya in his *Vijñāna Dīpikā*[10] have explained why in the passages क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि (*Muṇḍaka*. II-2-8), and ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुतेऽर्जुन (*Gītā*, IV-37), *prārabdha* is destroyed only by *bhoga* and only *sañcīta* and *cīyamāna* are destroyed by *jñāna*.

उभयोर्ज्ञानतो नाशो भोगात् प्रारब्धकर्मणः ।
क्षेत्रागारोदरस्थानमन्नानामिव तद्भिदः ॥

(*Vijñāna Dīpikā*, v. 9)

सर्वशब्दः सञ्चितसञ्चीयमानकर्मपरः

(Commentary).

The enlightened is beyond good and evil and has no regrets. He has consumed by the fire of knowledge *dharma* and *adharma*, merit-demerit, etc. Good and evil having existence and manifestation can only be derived from Ātman's *avidyā*. But *vidyā* destroys

9 *N. I. A.* Series. *IV*. p. x v.
10 *Vijñāna Dīpikā* of Padmapāda. Allahabad Skt. Series.

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both and hence the Ātman is further nourished (*ātmānam spṛṇute-Tai. Up*). The Self is a mere witness and hence merit and demerit realised in self become powerless. Sureśvara explains that the *liṅga śarīra* has this weakness due to *karma* which itself is due to the conceit of being an Agent. The idea of being an agent is due to *avidyā* which when destroyed leaves only the pure Ātman. To the Brahmavid good and evil do not exist as entities distinct from the self. In the Vedānta Sūtras (IV-1-13-15) it is discussed whether even the Brahmavid is bound by *karma*. The Nirguṇopāsaka is not bound as he has realised that he never was, is or would be an agent. The Saguṇopāsaka also is untainted as it is with reference to him that the Śruti states that "all his sins perish". In this connection Śaṁkara quotes the examples of *puṣkara palāśa* (*Chā. Up.*, V-24-3) and *iṣīkātūlamagni* (*Chā. Up.*, V-24-3, which two illustrations are also given in the *P. S.* V. 75, 43). Even meritorious deeds enjoined in the Vedas and not opposed to Brahmajñāna are considered "sins" here and therefore the Jīvanmukta is above merit also.

The Jīvanmukta has realised that he never was an Agent either for *prārabdha* or *sañcīta*—then why is not *prārabdha* also destroyed by his knowledge ? The reply is that *prārabdha* is destroyed only by enjoying as proved by Śruti, experience and logic. The Śruti तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्ये अथ सम्पत्स्ये—*Chā. Up.* VI-14-2) shows that the final deliverance is not delayed long, only so far as the span of life allotted at the time of *garbhādhāna* has to run and cannot be curtailed. Śrī Śaṁkara further says that one's own experience proves that *prārabdha* has to be enjoyed. It is also reasonable just as when an archer has shot his arrow it is no longer within his power to stop its flight until its momentum is exhausted, Śaṁkara also gives the example of the potter's wheel. Therefore *ārabdhakarma* cannot be destroyed by Jñāna only. Further without *ārabdhakarma* there cannot be a guru at all and no *sampradāya* because the unenlightened man cannot be a guru and if the enlightened is liberated at the very moment of his enlightenment there would be no teacher at all.

Maṇḍana Miśra in his *Brahma Siddhi* criticises Śaṁkara. He says that the analogy of the discharged arrow is untenable. The arrow can be stopped by interposing a wall, etc. and can be broken by another arrow, just as by *Śānti karma* evil effects of dreams can be averted. The *Sthita prajña* according to Maṇḍana is yet a *sādhaka* and not a *siddha*. Though he admits *sadyomukti* for the Jīvanmukta there is delay until the present body falls away. Therefore until death occurs the Jīvanmukta has *avidyā saṃskāra* तस्मात् संस्कारादेव स्थितिः) ; but this *avidyā saṃskāra* is power-

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less to lead him to further enjoyment and bondage. But Śaṃkara considers that the Adhikāris—Apāntaratama, Sanatkumāra, Nārada etc. (Ve. Sū. III-3-32. Bhāṣya of Śaṃkara) are so because their *karma* may come to fruition and end with the body or under god's directions they may assume fresh bodies before that *karma* comes to an end and not because of *prārabdha*. It cannot be stopped like a discharged arrow (*mukteṣu*). There Jīvanmuktas remember all previous incarnations whereas Jātismaras remember only the previous birth. The Sthitaprajña according to Śaṃkara is Jīvanmukta who has yet a body. Therefore *prārabdha* cannot be stopped. Regarding the objection that these Adhikāris can have no *mokṣa* as during the period of office they will have forgotten true knowledge and committed new acts, the *siddhānta* is (IV-1-19) that *prārabdha* while yielding its own fruit cannot destroy true knowledge. Their wisdom persists through several births and new acts done cannot taint them, Therefore wisdom necessarily leads to *mokṣa* after consuming *sañcīta* and *anāgata karmas*.

The enlightened Jīvanmukta having realised unity with all, attains all desires together as Brahman. He sings the Sāman which is Brahman who is *sama*—one with all. Sureśvara in his Vārtikā on *Taittirīya Upaniṣad Bhāṣya* of Śaṃkara explains that the Jīvanmukta continues to perceive the *upādhis* created by *karma* though he has realised their unreality. Śaṃkara further explains that he is liberated in fact though the surrounding people seeing that he has still a body speak of him as living. In his own view he is liberated. He lives till death eating what he likes (as said in the Jābāla. 6) "Begging food from all castes, the stomach is his dish"; "For those beyond the three *guṇas* what can be enjoined or what forbidden." He puts on any or no dress, wanders everywhere, stays where he likes. Similarly the *P. S.* also says that he is untouched by either the merit of a thousand aśvamedhas or by the sin of a lac of brahmahatyās or by death in a holy place or in the house of a *śvapaca* since he is already released at the moment he attained *jñāna* (*jñānasamakālamuktaḥ* v. 77, 81, 82). Thus the existence of *prārabdha* and *deha* is perfectly consistent with the orthodox Advaita view and need not be dismissed as "only a superstition surviving from non-absolutist systems" or as "an inheritance from Niriśvara Sāṅkhya[11]". The Brahmavid as Jīvanmukta is only the pure *sākṣin* but with the conceit as the knower he may have a trace of *Vidyāmada* like Yājñavalkya. Sureśvara in his Vārtikā on the *Tai. Up. Bhāṣya* on "*ya evam veda pratitiṣṭhati*" (he who thus knows is firmly established), says that the Jīvanmukta due to a tinge of Avidyā still

11 *N. I. A.* Series. *IV*. p. xv.

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perceives duality and hence immediate minor results like becoming great by food, cattle, offspring and Brahmavarcas are also described. Even the Avidvān may get all these by god's grace, even more so the Vidvān who has realised his unity with Īśvara. This is from the point of view of *saguṇopāsana* but an *āptakāma* with all desires fulfilled he does not hanker after these small results. He sees the self as devoid of action and objects of action and hence the habits of the body continuing after the dawn of kwowledge will always be ethically above reproach and cannot affect his *Sthitaprajñā*. He is thus no slave of habit nor a licensed evil doer. His merits and demerits have been distributed among those friendly or inimical to him though in his own view he has no friends and enemies.

Hence it is wrong to draw a distinction between the Brahman—knower and the Jīvanmukta, placing the former on a lower level and assert that "this is significant of the decadence of Advaita in Vidyāraṇya's time."[12] Simply because the relative standards of morality are not applicable to the Brahman-knower (who is none other than a Jīvanmukta is emphatically asserted by Śaṃkara in the commentary on "*ya evam vid*" in the *Tai. Up*), it is not to be inferred that the "privilege of sinning" is extended to the Knower"

This view of the persistence of *prārabdha* is also common to *P. S.* and *Bh°*. (III-28-36. 37 quoted above). The Viśiṣṭādvaita interpretation is that the indifference to the body comes only at the end of *prārabdha* when he has realised his *svarūpa*. He is only an *upāsaka* until the decease of the body. The Dvaita view is that the Jīvanmukta also has to wait until the *prārabdha* has ended and having immediate perception of god after overcoming the mind's external activities, he realises his own nature as subordinate to god and therefore that he is not the real agent of happiness and misery. But Śrīdhara in his commentary has made it clear that the Jīvanmukta realises that his body associated with *prāṇas, indriyas*, etc. will be alive up to the cessation of *prārabdha*. Still he having realised Brahman through *samādhi* looks upon his body as a mere dream creation.

The *Bh°* (III-32-32) reconciles this with Bhakti Yoga and Sāṃkhya.

ज्ञानयोगश्च मन्निष्ठो नैर्गुण्यो भक्तिलक्षणः ।
द्वयोरप्येक एवार्थो भगवच्छब्दलक्षणः ॥

Similarly the *P. S.* (v. 86)

12 *N. I. A. Series. IV.* p. 37 note.

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महता कालेन महान् मानुष्यं प्राप्य योगमभ्यस्य ।
प्राप्नोति दिव्यममृतं यत्तत् परमं पदं विष्णोः ॥

Another point in common between *P. S.* and *Bh°* is with reference to the *tattvas* of Prakṛti as twenty-three (*P. S.* 20 ; *Bh°*. XI-22-17). The *P. S.* enumerates *buddhi*, *manas* and *ahaṃkāra* as three separate principles which along with the five *tanmātras*, ten *indriyas* and five *bhūtas* are called *prākṛtā*. In the *Bh°* dealing with the various views regarding the number of *tattvas*, one view explained by Śrī Kṛṣṇa that Prakṛti is looked at as *kāraṇa* and *kārya*. The *kārya* division of Prakṛti consists of the five *jñānendriyas*, five *karmendriyas*, five *prāṇas* and *manas* (altogether sixteen). The *Kāraṇa* division includes *Mahat*, *Ahaṃkāra* and the five *tanmātras* (seven). Thus altogether Prakṛti consists of twenty-three *tattvas* while Puruṣa is distinct from these (*Bh°*. XI-22-17). The *P. S.* gives this view substituting *Buddhi* for *mahat*.

The *P. S.* (v. 27) mentions *Vijñāna*, *Antaryāmin*, *Prāṇa*, *Virāḍ*, and *Deha* as having only *vyavahārika* reality and are mere modes of the pure Ātman. Evidently of the five *Kośas*, this verse indicates the lower four omitting *Ānandamaya*. Antaryāmin is perhaps the same as *manomaya* from the point of view of the *P. S.* According to the *P. S.* the Jīvanmukta rises beyond *Vijñānamaya* and reaches Hari, the Paramātman (v. 72), and becomes endowed with Bliss (Paramānanda). The view of the *P. S.* seems to be that Ānandamaya is the highest and the author does not seem to subscribe to *Puccha Brahmavāda* of Śaṃkara (at least as far as the Jīvanmukta is concerned). Ānandamaya is still tainted by *Māyā* as it is the *Kāraṇakośa*—the bliss being the result of *Jñāna* and *Karma*. Among the Kāryakōśas Vijñānamaya is *Sūtrātma* (Hiraṇyagarbha) having *Nirvikalpaka Jñānaśakti*. Manomaya is *savikalpaka jñānaśakti* of the Sūtrātman. *Prāṇamaya* is the *Kriyāśakti* of Sūtrātman. Anna (*Deha*) is *Virāḍ* (physical individual and collective bodies). Since the sheaths enclose one another the Ānandamaya is itself *antaryāmin*. But the *P. S.* placing Antaryāmin after Vijñāna seems to imply that *Savikalpaka Jñānaśakti* (*manomaya*) is *antaryāmin* and ascribes only *vyavahārika* reality to it.

Thus it is clear that the *Paramārthasāra* (like the Gauḍapāda's Kārikās) forms one of the basic texts for the *Śrī Bhāgavata* and may be assigned to the fourth century A. D.

S. Srikanta Sastri

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The Puṣyamitras of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription

The Bhitari stone pillar inscription records Skandagupta's victory over a powerful enemy called the Puṣyamitras, who possessed a strong army and a rich treasury[1]. The identification of these Puṣyamitras has been a rather difficult problem. Dr. Fleet identified them with the people mentioned in the Purāṇas and located them on the Narmadā[2], while Dr. V. A. Smith regarded them as a people of the North.[3] Dr. Hoernle believed that they were the same as the Maitrakas.[4] R. D. Banerji regarded them as the first wave of the Hūṇas.[5] H. R. Divekar suggested the reading *Yudhy--amitrān* in place of Puṣyamitras. But, as pointed out by R. D. Banerji, the proposed reading is impossible.[7] I have myself examined the inscription on the original stone, and in my opinion while the first syllable may be *pu* or *yu*, the next syllable cannot be *dhya*. Over the subscript *y* there are clear traces of a square form. It is not cylindrical, in shape, as would be the form of *dh*. It can only be *p* or *ṣ*. But as *p* makes an impossible word *pupya* the choice is evidently restricted to *ṣ* and we get *puṣya*. Mr. Divekar's suggestion is thus disposed of. Recently Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has suggested that the Puṣyamitras are the descendants of king Puṣyavarmā of Assam.[8] He rejects the identification with the people mentioned in the Purāṇas on the ground that the latter belonged to the North-West and ruled in the third century A. D. and 'can hardly be taken to be the people who gave trouble to Skandagupta'. In his opinion, the term Puṣyamitra, upon which he thinks there is a pun (śleṣa) has been used for 'the descendants of Puṣyavarmā of Assam who had so long been *mitras* or friends of the Guptas, but had changed into foes by their (विजिगीषा or) desire for conquest, and had invaded the Gupta empire from the east and made it totter''. Dr. Bhattasali thinks that Mahendravarmā, whom he assigns to the period 450 to 490 A. D., who performed two horse-sacrifices must have been powerful enough to launch an attack on the Gupta empire in the reign of Skandagupta. This conclusion of Dr. Bhattasali is open to several objections.

1 समुदितबलकोषान् पुष्यमित्रांश्च जित्वा । *CII.*, III, pp. 53-54.
2 *IA.*, 1889, p. 228.
3 *EHI.*, (4 ed.) p. 326.
4 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 126.
5 *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 46
6 *ABORI.*, I, p. 99.
7 *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 45
8 *IHQ.*, XXI, p. 24 f.

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Firstly as remarked by Dr. D. C. Sircar, "there is no grammatical, lexicographical, or literary support' for this interpretation of the name Puṣyamitra. Secondly the contemporaniety of Skandagupta and Mahendravarmā cannot be upheld, as will be presently shown. The mere fact that he performed two horse-sacrifices cannot prove his capacity to throw the gauntlet to the Imperial Guptas. The definite limits of Skandagupta's reign are from 455 A.D. to 467 A.D. The period of the rule of Mahendravarmā however, cannot be so definitely fixed because we do not possess any dated records of his reign. As a matter of fact the entire chronology of the kings of Assam can be settled only approximately by means of synchronisms and rough calculations. One basis for the construction of the chronology of the dynasty of Puṣyavarmā is furnished by the Bargaṅgā Rock inscription of the reign of Bhūtivarmā,[9] the grandson of Mahendravarmā. Dr. Bhattasali read the date in this record as 234, but as pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar it is clearly 244.[10] The numerical symbol for 30 is like the letter *l*, and there is not the slightest resemblance between *l* and the numerical symbol in the Bargaṅgā Rock inscription. Dr. George Bühler has remarked that the numerical symbol for 40 is like a *pta* or a *sa* through the transposition of the *ta*.[11]

The present symbol exactly resembles the second symbol for 40 mentioned by Dr. Bühler. The Bargaṅgā inscription therefore supplies the date 563 A.D. for the reign of Bhūtivarmā. It should also be carefully noted that 563 is not definitely the last date of Bhūtivarmā but only a date, falling within his reign. He might have ruled for several years after 563 A.D. Now, if Skandagupta and Mahendravarmā were contemporaries as assumed by Dr. Bhattasali, we shall have to place the latter between 455 and 467 A.D., the definitely known limits of Skandagupta's reign. It means that we have to assign a period of 108 years (455 to 563) to the two reigns of Mahendravarmā and his son Nārāyaṇavarmā and part of the reign of Bhūtivarmā. This will give us an average of more than forty years for each of the two reigns of Mahendravarmā and Nārāyaṇavarmā, which is obviously an unusually long average. Even for the most powerful of the Imperial Guptas, i.e. Candragupta I to Kumāragupta I, we get an average of thirtyfour years only. There is yet another piece of evidence showing that Skandagupta and Mahendravarmā could not have been contemporaries. This is the synchronism between Susthitavarmā king of Assam, and Mahāsenagupta of the later Gupta family. From the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena, we know that

9 *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. VIII, (N.S.), p. 138 ff.

10 *Ibid.*, vol. X, p. 62.

11 *Indian Palæography*, translated by Dr. J. F. Fleet, p. 81.

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Mahāsenagupta inflicted a defeat on Susthitavarmā on the banks of the river Lauhitya. On the basis of this statement we can draw the following synchronistic table:

Guptas of Magadha.	*Kings of Assam.*
Kṛṣṇagupta	Mahendravarmā
Harṣagupta	Nārāyaṇavarmmā.
Jīvitagupta	Bhūtivarmā
Kumāragupta	Candramukhavarmā
Dāmodaragupta	Sthiravarmā
Mahāsenagupta	Susthitavarmā.

Thus we find that Mahendravarmā was the contemporary of the later Gupta king Kṛṣṇagupta, who could have established an independent kingdom, only after the decline of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, sometimes after the death of Budhagupta who held the empire in tact up to c. 495 A. D. Kṛṣṇagupta's rise to power therefore must be posterior to 495 A. D. Thus Mahendravarmā whom we have shown to be a contemporary of Kṛṣṇagupta, flourished long after the reign of Skandagupta. The year 490 A. D. may be approximately taken as the first year of Mahendravarmā's rule and not the last year as Dr. Bhattasali takes it. If there was any clash between the kings of Assam and the Imperial Guptas previous to the reign of Mahendra the aggressors must have been the Guptas and not the kings of Assam. The Damodarpur Copper Plates afford unimpeachable evidence of Budhagupta's rule over Puṇḍravardhana, quite in the neighbourhood of Assam. In the Nalandā seal of Bhāskaravarman, the kings from Puṣyavarmā to Kalyāṇavarmā bear the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* but that title is dropped from the time of the next king Gaṇapativarmā. It is relevant to inquire why Gaṇapativarmā has not been styled as a *Mahārājādhirāja*? Does it not indicate an eclipsing of his power? From the Gupta-Varman synchronism as shown in the following synchronistic table we can see that Budhagupta whose rule extended over Puṇḍravardhana was a contemporary of Gaṇapativarmā.

Imperial Guptas	*Varmans of Assam*
Samudragupta	Puṣyavarmā [12]
Candragupta II	Samudravarmā
Kumāragupta	Balavarmā
Skandagupta	Kalyāṇavarmā
Purugupta	
Narasiṃhagupta	
Budhagupta	Gaṇapativarmā

12 It may be noted that Dr. Bhattasali questions the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Puṣyavarmā. He says, "Naming an inferior relation like son

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It is not improbable that there was a clash between Budhagupta and Gaṇapativarmā in which the latter suffered a reverse, and being reduced to the position of a feudatory the use of the higher title of Mahārājādhirāja had to be discarded. From the foregoing discussion it must be clear that an attack on the Gupta empire by the Varmans of Assam in the reign of Skandagupta is an impossibility and the Puṣyamitras of the Bhitari Pillar inscription cannot be identified as the descendants of Puṣya who were friends (*mitras*).

The Puṣyamitras cannot be a branch of the Huṇas as held by R. D. Banerji. The Hūṇas have been mentioned separately in the Bhitari inscription.[13] Moreover it is hardly to be conceived that the very first wave of the foreign barbaric invaders would have been given a purely Sanskritic name by the Indian writer of the epigraphic record. Evidently the author of the inscription has mentioned two different adversaries of Skandagupta who suffered defeat from him on two different occasions.

Dr. Hoernle's final in this connection was that the Puṣyamitras were "the same as Maitrakas who some years later under the leadership of Bhatārka established themselves in Valabhī probably with the help of the Hūṇa ruler Toramaṇā.[14]" But as shown by the present writer the Maitrakas remained subservient to the Imperial Guptas from the time of Bhatārka to that of Droṇasiṃha.[15] Therefore they cannot be the same as Puṣyamitras who rebelled against Skandagupta.

The Purāṇas mention a people called Puṣyamitras, whose rule commenced after the end of the dynasty of the Vindhyakas. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* Mss consulted by Prof. Wilson we have the following statement, "and Puṣpamitras, and Paṭumitras and others to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekalā."[16]

after one's liege-lord would hardly be taken as a compliment by that liege-lord." But Puṣyavarmā was not a mere feudatory of Samudragupta, as the former's title of *Mahārājādhirāja shows*. He was only a friendly neighbour who maintained amicable relations with the Imperial Gupta monarch. The statement of Samudragupta's panegyrist has not to be taken literally. Some discount must be made for the natural tendency towards exaggeration. And what if Puṣyavarmā had named his son as Samudravarmā, before he entered into diplomatic relations with the Guptas? The objecion loses all force.

13 दृग्गैर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कम्पिता। line 15.

14 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 126. Previously he held that Bhaṭārka had beaten back Toramāṇa. *JASB.*, 1889, pp. 97-98.

15 *Indian Culture*, V, p. 407 ff.

16 Wilson's translation of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, vol. IV, pp. 212-13.

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Prof. Wilson has added the following note. "It seems most correct to separate the thirteen sons or families of the Vindhya princes from these Bāhlikas and then from the Puṣyamitras and Paṭumitras who governed Mekalā, a country on the Narmadā." [17] A similar statement is to be found in the *Vāyupurāṇa* which is generally regarded as one of the oldest and most reliable of Purāṇa texts. It says

पुष्यमित्रा भविष्यन्ति पटुमित्रास्त्रयोदश ।
मेकलायां नृपाः सप्त भविष्यन्तीह सप्ततिम् ॥

Thus according to the *Vāyupurāṇa*, the Puṣyamitras and Paṭumitras are grouped with the rulers of Mekalā, whose seven kings have not been named. It was on the basis of such evidence that that Dr. Fleet came to the following conclusion:

"It seems likely that the Puṣyamitras are to be placed in Central India somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmadā." [18] Dr. Bhattasali objects to the identification of the Puṣyamitras of the inscription with those of the Purāṇas, on the plea that the latter "appear to have been of North-Western India, and Pargiter has placed them in the third century A. D. They can hardly be taken to be the people who gave trouble to Skandagupta and made the Gupta empire totter by the middle of the 5th century A. D." But the presumption that they belonged to the North-West, is evidently based on the mention of the Bāhlikas, earlier in the same passage. This is hardly any proof. The mention of Vindhyakas, evidently a people of the Vindhya region, and of Mekalā, points to the South, rather than to North-West. As regards the date of the Puṣyamitras, from the Purāṇas, we can only have an indication of the time of the rise of these powers. That Mekalā continued to be ruled by its own kings either quite independent or feudatories up to the end of the fifth century A. D. is apparent from the following statement made with reference to the Vākāṭaka monarch Narendrasena, in the Balaghat Copper Plate of his son Pṛthivīṣeṇa. कोसलमेकलामालवाधिपत्यभ्यर्चित-शासनस्य ।[19] Narendraṣeṇa was a contemporary of Skandagupta. The existence of the kingdom of Mekalā, in the days of Skandagupta is thus a certainty. [20] There seems to be no reason, therefore, to assume that the Puṣyamitras of the Purāṇas must have come to an end in the third century A. D. Just like the Mekalās they seem to have continued down to the middle of the fifth century A. D. It is quite likely, that finding the hands of the Gupta emperors quite full, owing to the

17 *Ibid.*, 215 n.

18 *Indian Antiquary*, 1889, p. 228.

19 *EI.*, IX, p. 267.

20 Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra has recently discovered a copper plate grant of Mahārāja Bharatabala ruler of Mekalā, and has assigned it to *c.* 435-470 A.D.

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Hūṇa war, the Puṣyamitras tried to extend their own kingdom at the expense of the Guptas. An indication of a serious disorder in the region, about this very time is furnished by the Bamnala hoard of coins recently brought to light by D. B. Diskalkar. [21] The hoard was evidently buried towards the close of the reign of Kumāragupta I, as it contained coins of Samudragupta, Candragupta II, and Kumāragupta I only. Besides the coins, the hoard contained a gold bar. D. B. Diskalkar, rightly remarks that the bar had been made probably by melting some ornaments, on account of the apprehension of some immediate danger. The village of Bamnala is 24 miles to the South of the Narmadā. Thus there is clear proof of a serious disturbance of peace in the vicinity of Mekalā, in the middle of the fifth century A. D. and Fleet was perfectly justified in placing the Puṣyamitras of the Bhitari inscription in that region.

JAGAN NATH

21 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. V, pp. 135 ff.

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Dungarpur

(A Minor State of Rajputana)

In the March, 1946, issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* I published some extracts from Lieutenant Dyson's Report on Pertabgarh, one of the minor states of Rajputana. In the following pages I have quoted some extracts from that officer's Report on Dungarpur, another minor state of Rajputana. It will be remembered that Lieutenant Dyson worked under Sir John Malcolm at the time when the Rajput states, hard pressed by the Marathas and weakened by internal anarchy, were submitting to the suzerainty of the East India Company.[1]

Like Pertabgarh, Dungarpur also is an offshoot from Mewar. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these states no longer acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rana of Udaipur. Dungarpur paid tribute to Sindhia, Holkar and the Puars of Dhar. Holkar's claim on these states was given up in favour of the British Government by the treaty of Mandasor. When Metcalf concluded the treaty with Mewar, the Rana's vakil claimed the restoration of the Rana's suzerainty over the chiefs of these states.[2] But the British Government had already decided to grant them independent recognition.[3] Captain Caulfield concluded a treaty[4] with Dungarpur on December 11, 1818. The miserable condition of the state at that time is clearly revealed in Lieutenant Dyson's Report.

DYSON'S REPORT

History of Dungarpur

The Rawuls of Doongerpur are descended from an elder son of one of the sovereigns of Mewar[5] before they assumed the title of Rana, and while the seat of their government was at Chitor, who resigned his right to the throne in favour of the offspring of his father by a second marriage. His descendants, about the year 1300, leaving Chitor, established themselves at Gurea Kot, then in the possession of

1 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 332-338.

2 Secret Consultations, February 20, 1818, No. 29, (Imperial Record Department).

3 Secret Consultations, March 6, 1818, No. 7.

4 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 338-39.

5 Malcolm (*Central India*, vol. I, p. 504) says, "The Rajpoot prince of Doongurpoor claims to be a senior branch of the reigning family of Oodeypoor: and this right is tacitly admitted by the highest seat being always left vacant when the prince of the latter country dines."

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some Mussulman Chief. By degrees they subdued the Bheels, and acquired possession of this district called Bagar, comprising nearly all that is now subject to Banswarrah and Doongerpur.

Poonja Rawul, who reigned about 1600, formed a connection with the kings of Delhi, in order to secure himself from the incursions of the Rana. It is said that he was acknowledged at Delhi as an independent Prince. However, titles etc. were conferred on him

Maratha Depredations

Till the decay of the Delhi empire they continued to render service to that Government in Guzerat. They were afterwards again exposed for some time to the depredations of the Ranas, who regularly exacted contributions. About 1736 this district suffered much from the invasions of Bajee Row and Mulhar Row. In 1747 Sheo Singh Rawul sent an agent to Poona, where an engagement was concluded, that the country should be secured from all devastations on condition of 35,000 rupees being paid yearly to the three Mahratta Chiefs, to whom it was most exposed. Of this, half was paid to the Powar Raja of Dhar, one-fourth to Sindhia, one-fourth to Holkar.

Though it is positively asserted by some that the amount of this tribute was 35,000, yet others state that 30,000 was its utmost amount. It does not appear that this was ever paid, or at least but for a short time, in cash; one-half was paid in horses and cloth, both, it is said, received at a valuation double what they were really worth. Here, as well as at Banswarrah, a very great difference occurs in the accounts given, and it is hardly possible to ascertain satisfactorily what was really the practice. It is most probable that the tribute was originally 35,000 and that some diminution was subsequently made; the same uncertainty exists with regard to the above mode of payment. Whether it existed from the first or not, till 1796 agents to receive payment of the tribute resided here, and were maintained by the Rawul at an expense of from 2,000 to 5,000 Rupees yearly. Since that time the district has been exposed as much as possible and the original engagement was considered as cancelled.

About 1802 the late Rawul Tullech Singh enlisted a number of Arabs and Sindis. This Rawul was much addicted to drinking and in fits of intoxication was frequently guilty of the greatest excesses; he murdered a pregnant wife and fired at his son, the present Rawul. His mother then placed him in confinement and took the Government into her own hands. When the Mahrattas took possession of Gurea Kot, under her directions the Rajpoots and Arabs expelled them, and on realising 25,000 Rupees they agreed to leave the district. The Rajpoots released the Rawul, and his mother was poisoned. During the rest of his reign great disorder prevailed, the *Kamdars* constantly

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quarrelling and intriguing to remove one another. In 1809 he died and was succeeded by the present Rawul, Jeswunt Singh, who was then about 9 years of Age.

Krishnadas, a Rajpoot, and Richhulk Tiwaree and Jawahir Chand, who had to save him from his father, carried him from Doongerpoor to Gurea Kot and continued with him ever since, had of course the entire control of affairs. By the mother the Arabs, but not the Sindis, were discharged. Richhulk, having seized Jawahir Chand, extorted 11,000 Rupees from him. However, the Thakoors being in his interest, he managed to confine Richhulk, with the Rawul and his mother, but afterwards released them, retaining the Rawul in his power.

In 1810 the Sindis, calling themselves the servants of Holkar, came to Doongerpoor, and those in the service of the Rawul joining them, they took possession of the town, and retained it for eight months, during which time they plundered it, and then exacting a contribution of 125000 rupees abandoned it

In 1814 they again returned and plundered the town. Jawahir Chand dying, Krishna Das and Richhulk assumed the management of the district. They kept the Rawul under very great privations, even refusing him any particular food that he wished for.

The Rawul, in hopes of meeting with better treatment, joined the Sindis then at Salombur. They took possession of Doongerpoor, Gurea Kot and other places. Being much harrassed by them Krishna Das, Urjoon Singh of Gurea and the other Rajpoots, with the assistance of Madhoo Koonwur, retired from the country; their chief, who was called Shahzada and had assumed the title of King, was killed. The Rawul, finding that he was treated as a prisoner, made his escape from them. About a year since, a man called Motee Seth, and one of his father's wives by whose advice he had placed himself in the power of the Sindis, are now at Oodeypoor, where, it is said, they are endeavouring to procure the assistance of the Rana to deprive the opposite party of their power.

While Jeswunt Singh was with the Sindis, the Rana addressed letters to Krishna Das, Richhulk and Urjoon Singh, stating that the Rawul had become as a Musulman, among the Sindis, and urging them to expel them, that as the Rawuls of Doongurpoor were descended from his family, proposing that they should place his younger son on the throne. They themselves say that they rejected this proposal, alleging their duty to their master Jeswunt Singh. They were probably induced to make the exaction they did to recover the district from the Sindis with a view to the power they should enjoy by taking advantage of the youth of Jeswunt Singh and governing in his name.

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Character of Rawal Jaswant Singh

They give out that he is mad, and totally incapable of governing, that he voluntarily leaves every thing to them, and that it is absolutely necessary to deprive him of the control of his own expense, as he is in the habit of giving away every thing he can obtain to the servants about him.

The Rawul is about 19 or 20 years of age. He appears shrewd, and by no means as deficient in natural understanding. Having been always kept under restraint by those who have governed in his name, he has, of course, never had an opportunity of applying himself to business in any degree. He has had hardly any companions but his menial servants, and one Rajpoot chief of the name of Surdar Singh, whom he declares to be the only friend he has about him. With respect to ertravagance he has fine opportunities of being guilty of it, having very seldom had the means of bestowing even a trifling reward on any to whose services he considers himself indebted.

He declares that these men never consult him in any affair whatever, but that every thing is carried on not only without his consent, but usually without his knowledge, that his orders, as he has not the power of enforcing them, are disregarded throughout the district, those of the *Kamdars* only being attended to, and that persons who shew him any extraordinary attention are forbidden to do so, persecuted and maltreated.

A daily allowance of one hundred rupees is made him, and the common articles of food are supplied for the use of himself and his household. This allowance is diminished and increased according to the price of grain and frequently provisions are sent only 4 days out of 5.

Clothes of a coarse kind are allowed him, sometimes every month, but often the old clothes are mended. He possesses one horse, but being unable to feed him, a person of the town keeps the horse at his house. On occasions of going out he borrows the arms and ornaments of some of the Rajpoots about him. He, of course, complains much of this treatment, says that he has no friends but the English from whom he can claim assistance, that he leaves every thing to them requesting that these people may be made to recognize him as their master. He seems well aware of the state of the country.

His subjects generally speak well of him, and every one confirms the truth of the above statement which there does not seem any reason to doubt.

The Rajpoots, it is supposed, have now possession of lands to the value of 20,000 Rupees; this is beyond their lawful estates and has been partly seized by them by force, and partly acquired by grants made to induce them to do their duty, during the weakness of the

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Government. The present state of affairs is too advantageous to them to suppose that they would exert themselves to restore the Rawul's authority. Though they have been reduced, yet comparatively with the Rawul have not suffered much. It is supposed that they may collect at the present about 1,00,000 rupees.

Rajput Chiefs

There is at present no regular system for collecting the land Revenue. Assignments are made to Urjoon Singh, and the commanders of the Arabs etc. for their payment, on the different villages; and they exact as much as they can. General report makes 20,000 or 25,000 the amount thus collected, but nothing certain can be learned without a long examination of the accounts of Urjoon Singh and the Arab Chiefs.

Under the management of a Rajpoot, it is not to be expected that a proper degree of control would be exercised over the Thakoors, who, indeed would not, beyond a certain extent, submit the Revenue to an authority known to be independent.

The Principal Thakoor, Purbut Singh of Bunkova, is supposed to be extremely jealous of the power of Urjoon Singh and Krishna Das.

A relation of the Chief of Saloombar holds about 10 villages, and the chief of Moongana, 25; some of these were originally mortgaged to them, but the greater number were, through fear of their depredations, conferred on them for service which they have never performed.

Urjoon Singh holds one village in mortgage and some more for service. It is supposed that the sums, for which these mortgages were made must have been repaid, in some cases, many times over, but no accounts have ever been received.

A tribute of 20,000 Rupees yearly was paid formerly by the Chief of a District called Khurick situated to the N. of Doongerpoor and dependent on some of the Chiefs of Mewar; this has been discontinued for many years, though the right to it is still claimed. It appears to have been originally paid to Sheo Singh who rendered some assistance to the Chief of this district against his superior.

The Bhils

The Bheels in this district are very numerous. The more powerful chiefs plunder travellers and carry off the cattle of villages; they seldom burn the houses, or take the lives of any but those against whom they have any particular enmity. It is said that if they find the horses of Rajpoots they will kill but not steal them, being unable to manage horses.

From their numbers and mutual connection and supporting each other, the Rajpoots hardly think themselves adequate to suppress them, without some assistance. At present the utmost exertions of

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their whole force is requisite to compel them to pay their tribute. Some of the Chiefs are wealthy. They do not seem at all persuaded of the possibility of civilizing and conciliating the Bheels by a firm but moderate conduct towards them. There is, however, no reason why a system which, it is confessed, may answer in other Districts, should fail in this. 10,000 is the utmost that they pay at present.

Trade and Commerce

There are besides Doongerpoor 5 principal places where duties are collected; articles which have paid at one place, are thence allowed to pass free through the whole district. This is a refinement, however, beyond the usual practice of these states.

A large Revenue was also collected at a fair that used to be held annually in the month of November at Doongerpoor and which was sometimes continued for three months. It was frequented by merchants from Guzerat, Kota, Mewar, and Malwa. People were sent by the Raja to give notice in the neighbouring districts. 25,000 have known to have assembled sometimes on this occasion. About 25 years since the Mahrattas plundered those who were assembled at the fair and from that time it has not been held. It was solely for purposes of trade and not connected with any religious festival.

The town of Sogwara was the principal seat of commerce in the district. It was very populous and it should have contained 12,000 or 15,000 families, nearly all of whom were engaged in trade; at present there are not more than 100 families. Merchandize of all descriptions was brought from Surat and Ahmedabad along the right bank of the Muhee to Gurea Kot, whence it was sent through the Banswarrah district to Pertabgurh, and by Kota to Jeypoor. The trade with Oodeypoor and Ajmere was conducted by the route of Saloombur whence there is a road to Oodeypur, and by Shapoora to Ajmere and Jeypoor. There was then a road practicable for horse carriages, from Gurrea Kot to Pertabgurh. These roads are now from long disuse overgrown with wood and blocked up with stones; the traces of them are still visible in many places where the rock has been cut through.

Generally the nature of the country is more adapted for bullocks and buffaloes than any other mode of carriage; in the hilly parts the roads are so rugged that camels do not travel well.

Gurea Kot has also been a large place; it is on the right bank of the Muhee, about 12 miles S.-E. of Saguara. There was also a very strong fort there, which since it was occupied by the Sindis has been dismantled; it is still considered the strongest position in the district. This and all other places where duties are collected are considered as dependent on Saguwara. 40,000 and 50,000 Rupees have been sometimes collected. The trade is already beginning to revive in

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some small degree. The duties[6] at present collected amount to about 10,000, which, it is asserted, is appropriated entirely to the Rawul's domestic expenses. This assertion can hardly be true. Indeed, in the present state of affairs it can hardly be expected that any true account of the revenue can be obtained, as notwithstanding the public distress, those who have the management of the district are known to have amassed much wealth.

Dungarpur town

Doongerpoor is a large town, surrounded except on one side by high and steep hills which are fortified with a trifling wall; to the N.-W. is a plain, but this side is well-defended by a detached hill, and by a marsh. The natural defences of the place are great, though they have not been by any means judiciously taken advantage of. There is some water in the town, but the people are chiefly supplied from a large artificial reservoir to the N.-E. of the town. The town has every appearance of having once been in a very flourishing condition.

Condition of the people

In peaceable times the state of the great body of the people must have been far from wretched; the appearance of their houses, clothing, etc., denotes a people by no means suffering from poverty. The extraordinary number of temples in all the villages, in the construction of some of which large sums must have been expended, are sufficient proof of wealth. This, however, must not be considered as applicable to their present state. For one village that is inhabited, there are two almost entirely desolate. Here, as in the other petty principalities, the people are much affected to the Rawul and to the Rajpoot Chiefs. They express themselves as equally anxious of the assistance of the English Government on the Rawul's account, as on their own. They complain most bitterly of the Arabs and Sindis; even women will stop in the streets to ask when the English Government will take pity on them.

It is customary in all disputes to swear persons, against whom any accusation or demand is made, by the Rawul's throne; their reverence for this is such, that none will dare to violate this oath, but rather confess themselves guilty. Bheels alone are excluded from this custom; with them recourse is had to the various modes of ordeal anciently in use among the Hindoos.

Soldiers sent in any duty by the Rawul are subsisted by the people

6 Ghee, rice, wax, and honey, are the principal articles, the produce of the country, which are exported.

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of the villages they go to. This is a voluntary act, it is said, and is not practised with any but Rajpoots, as Sindis, Arabs, Goosains, etc.

Probably from long oppression, and being constantly exposed to plunder, the lower classes are extremely dishonest in their petty dealings, and are particularly apt to impose and deceive when they imagine that either inclination, or power to use compulsion, are wanting. They expect on all occasions from those who have the power, the same treatment they have always experienced from Mahrattas.

The effects of the system of violence and disorder are equally plain on the higher classes. They do not appear to have an idea relating to Government, which is wholly free from exaction, oppression and violence.

Insignia of Royalty

All these chiefs, Pertabgurh, Doongerpoor and Banswarrah, assume the rank of independent princes, and use all the insignia of that dignity usual among the Hindoos : the *Singhasun* (Throne), *Chumar*, and *Chutra* (or umbrella). They are anointed and seated on the throne, with the religious ceremonies prescribed according to the ancient custom.

They do not acknowledge the authority of the Rana, though they consider him entitled to a higher degree of respect as the most ancient of the Hindoo princes, and being descended from the family of the Ranas, they consider themselves bound to assist him.

Rajwarra

The term Rajpootana is utterly unknown in these districts. Rajwarra is a name applied to all those countries inhabited by Rajpoots, but is not intended to convey the idea of a country subject to one authority, or of a number of confederated states.

Administration

The person who has the management of affairs under the directions of the Rawul is called the Kamdar.[7]. He is usually a Brahmin or Banja; being subject to the clamourous demands of the troops for pay, *Dhurna*, and other indignities, what it is considered a Rajpoot could not endure, this office is never held by any of that caste.[8]

7 Archibald Adams (*The Western Rajputana States*, p. 434) wrote in 1899, "The Kamdar, or agent, is the principal official (of the Rajput *Thakurs*), and generally a Bania, who turns his tenure of office to profitable account and makes money. His harvest-time is during a minority."

8 Malcolm (*Central India*, vol. I, pp. 549-50) says, "The reason for not employing the Rajpoots in the civil offices of these petty governments is, in the first place, their unfitness for want of education; and in the second, their insubordinate and ambitious spirit. These stations (but particularly that of Kam-

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The authority of the Rawul is frequently devolved on one of the principal Thakoors to whom the Kamdar is subject, and who is then denominated the Faujdar.

When other inferior Rajpoots are admitted to any share of authority they do not hold any particular office, but are called Bhanjgurea,[9] signifying one who gives advice.

By frequent marriages the Rawuls are more or less remotely connected with the greater number of the Thakoors.

On the death of a Thakoor, the Rawul goes to his village to perform the ceremony of girding on the sword, by which the son is put in the rank of his father. This is also in some degree considered a mark of respect for the deceased chief.

Defence

A large portion of these districts consists of the hilly and woody tract inhabited by Bheels.

The natives have a great confidence in the strength of their country which, having sometimes repelled Mahrattas, they think no troops could penetrate. It is well calculated for the operation of light troops who could meet with no serious opposition. The Bheels never think of resistance but take to flight; the Rajpoots attack them on horseback, and of course they must always be able to escape from Infantry, to enable their horses to share the fatigue of ascending the hills. They feed them almost entirely with sugar, ghee, milk and flour, at a great expense. The Bheels are said to be very expert in the use of the bow and arrow.

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dar, or minister) are generally filled by Brahmins, Bunnias (merchants), or persons of the Kaith, or writer tribe."

9. Malcolm (*Central India*, vol. I, p. 549) says, "The Rajpoot Chiefs employ their own tribe in the army, but seldom, if ever, in civil stations.....when a noble is raised by his favour to power, but without distinct office, he is termed a counsellor or mediator; such person being generally deemed a channel of intercourse between the prince and his subjects." This 'mediator' was called *Bhanjgurea.*

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More Light on Sanskrit Literature of Bengal

(Hindu Period)

This paper is intended to be a supplement to the brilliant survey of Sanskrit Literature of Bengal during the Hindu period (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, Ch. XI, pp. 290-373) and embodies some of the results of latest researches on the subject. A history of literature is largely connected with a history of institutions both monastic and scholastic. While, however, the Buddhist institutions of Bengal have received a fair treatment in the hands of scholars (cf. *Hist. of Bengal*, I, Ch. XIII), a Brahmanic institution is almost an unknown thing. The reason is not far to seek. The conception of the *Triratna* converted every Buddhist *Vihāra* into a monastic as well as scholastic congregation of more or less pomp and grandeur and separate Buddhist schools are almost unknown. The Brahmanic schools, on the other hand, continued to flourish in the humble cottage of individual teachers in almost every village, mostly unconnected with the richly endowed temples. The principle of 'plain living and high thinking' adopted in these cottage schools in striking contrast with the splendour of the Buddhist universities proved a veritable boon at the time of danger. When the Mahomedan armies played havoc with the Vihāras and temples Buddhism vanished in no time, while Brahmanic literature continued to flourish almost unimpeded in the cottages. Nevertheless, the conception of a 'Kulapati' at the head of 10,000 students was not entirely forgotten and large Brahmanic institutions, more monastic than scholastic, must have existed even in Bengal, side by side with the great *Vihāras*, and constituted one of the sources of the propagation of Sanskrit literature in these parts. We attempt to rescue the names of a few of these long-forgotten institutions and invite scholars to study this utterly neglected part of our history.

Brahmanic Institutions of Bengal

In the province of Bengal proper there was situated one of the most ancient and biggest shrines of India viz. the Gaṅgā-sāgara or Sāgara-saṅgama, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and several Purāṇas. Yudhiṣṭhira came here and passed by the coast line to Kaliṅga (Vana p. Ch. 114). It is mentioned as a sacred spot in Vidyāpati's *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* and Vācaspati Miśra's *Tirthacintāmaṇi*.[1] The only writer, however, who has given

1 *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, Ed. Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, pp. 274-75, 287. *Tirthacintāmaṇi*, B.I. Ed., p. 219. Dr. Chaudhuri's chivalrous attempt (*vide* App. pp. 105-8) to fix the authorship of the former work upon the queen Viśvāsadevī instead

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a detailed description of the shrine is Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṅkāra, uncle of the celebrated Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana of Triveni (1694-1807 A.D.). We quote below a few lines from Bhavadeva's *Tīrthasāra* composed in 1651 Śaka (1729-30 A.D.).[2]

माधवनामा नृप आसीत्तस्य देशस्य, तेन स्थापितो माधवनामा विष्णुस्तत्प्रतिमातदधिष्ठानचिह्नेन तीर्थस्य परिचयः कृतः ।.....तत्र कपिलनाममुनिप्रतिमास्ति, तत्र मन्दाकिनी पातालगा गङ्गा तिष्ठति,.....कार्त्तिकेयप्रतिमा तत्रास्ति ।.....हरिनामप्रतिमा तिष्ठति...

(fol. 112b-113a)

शङ्करः कपिलश्चैव श्वेतद्वीपपतिस्तथा ।
द्वीपे साधारणः स्कन्दः पञ्चमश्च महोदधिः ॥ इति स्कान्दे ।
(शङ्करः अमरशङ्करः, श्वेतद्वीपपतिर्माधवः)
कपिलस्य मुखं दृष्ट्वा स्पृष्ट्वा पैतामहं पदं ।
तारगङ्गोदकं पीत्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥

(fol. 111 in a Kroḍapatra)

Most of these temples and images survived in the beginning of the 19th century and were completely washed away by the sea in 1842 A.D. (*JASB.*, 1850, p. 538 f.n.). Only one year before the last temple was washed away an interesting account of the 'Mela at Ganga Saugor' appeared in the *Friend of India* (vol. VII, 1841, p. 70). A few lines from it are extracted below :—'a mere sandbank, about a mile in length and about a quarter mile broad—of a crescent form with the wide sea opening in front and the back covered by a dense jungle. At one corner stands the solitary temple of the celebrated Sanyasi Cupil Mani.....This temple is the last remnant of what has evidently been a large monastic institution for devotees, the ruins of which may be walked over at low water. These ruins shew that the buildings must have been very extensive as well as massy.....'. The then existing temple was 'built of *concha* stone brought from Orissa' and was in a precarious position 'soon to moulder away.' There were two

of Vidyāpati does not take into account the fact that the book has never been ascribed to the queen by any later author. On the other hand Gaṇapati in the *Gaṅgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* cited several passages from the book under the name of Vidyāpatyupādhyāya (cf. *JASB.*, 1915, pp. 405-6).

2 The Ms. of 133 foll. belongs to the Govt. collection of the R.A.S.B *vide Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, vol. III, pp. 192-3. The date of composition at the end of the book reads (भू) मिवाणतर्क्कचन्द्रशाकराजवत्सरे and not (रामवाण) (i.e. 1653 Śaka) as read by Śāstrī. In the body of the book at the end of the Section on Gaṅgātīrtha occurs the following passage (fol. 114a) :—

गङ्गायाः पृथिव्यां स्थितिः कलेः पञ्चसहस्रवर्षान्तस्तत्र त्रिंशदधिकाष्टशताधिक चतुःसहस्रवर्षाणयतीतानि ४८३० । अवशिष्टं सप्तत्यधिकशतवर्षमात्रम्

The Kali year mentioned here 4830 corresponds to 1651 Śaka.

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stone images within the temple i.e. of Cupil and 'Mahdeb' (Mādhava) and what is more important there was an inscription in the temple—the writer, who evidently saw the ruins with his own eyes, concluding, 'yet are they like neither to things in heaven above or in the earth beneath, nor could the Sanyasis themselves decipher the hieroglyphics.' The inscription contained a date 430 A.D., according to Long (*JASB.*, 1850, p. 538 f.n.) and 437 A.D. according to the description in another contemporary Journal the *Hurkara* (cited in the *Samācāradarpaṇa* of Feb. 4, 1837 *vide* B. N. Banerji: *Samvādapatre Sekālera Kathā*, 2nd Ed., p. 520). The above description leaves us in no doubt that the sea swallowed up one of the oldest shrines of India, sanctified by the name of the traditional founder of Sāṅkhya philosophy. It was still inhabited by a number of mendicants in 1841, owing allegiance to a pontiff of far off Jaypur.

Another monastic institution seems to have existed in Lower Bengal in ancient times viz. Candradvīpa in the Barisal district. We invite the attention of scholars to the following fact. In Act IV of Bhavabhūti's *Uttaracarita* it is stated that mortified by the banishment of Sītā Janaka left his kingdom as a recluse and spent several years at 'Candradvīpa-tapovana' :—

स तदैव सीतादेव्याः तादृशं दैवदुर्विपाकमुपश्रुत्य वैखानसः संवृत्तः, तथास्य कतिपये संवत्सराश्चन्द्रद्वीपतपोवने तपस्तप्यमानस्य ।

It can be reasonably surmised that when Bhavabhūti wrote (in the middle of the 8th century A.D.) Candradvīpa was regarded as a celebrated Brahmanic shrine of Eastern India. The Tibetan tradition that the place was so called after Candragomin (Vidyabhūṣaṇa, *Indian Logic*, p. 334) makes it of too recent a growth to be sanctified by the presence in the conception of the poet of an ancient Ṛṣi like Janaka. It was evidently a far more ancient site and became affiliated to Buddhism from the time of Candragomin.

There is reference to yet another celebrated Vaiṣṇava shrine in Lower Bengal in the famous allegorical drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra (late in the 11th century A.D.). The highest character of the drama is represented in Viṣṇubhakti, whose place of residence is stated to be the temple of Ādi-Keśava at Benares, who is invoked by the poet in a magnificent hymn in Daṇḍaka metre at the end of Act IV. One of the associates of Viṣṇubhakti named Śraddhā with her daughter Śānti is represented (Act II) as working at Puruṣottama, while the hero Viveka is represented as practising austerities at Cakratīrtha in Rāḍha :—

अस्ति राढ़ाभिधानो जनपदस्तत्रैव च भागीरथीतीरपरिसरालङ्कारभूत-चक्रतीर्थे मीमांसानुगतया मत्या किञ्चिद्धार्यमानप्राणो व्याकुलेनान्तरात्मना विवेक उपनिषत्-सङ्गमाथ तपस्यतीति । (Act IV)

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It should be noticed that when actual fight began at Benares between the warring elements Viṣṇubhakti left the place and came to reside at this Cakratīrtha, which was also known as Śālagrāma-Kṣetra (Act V). People of Bengal has almost entirely forgotten this ancient shrine, which is not mentioned in any authoritative work of recent times. The memory of the shrine survives, however, in its immediate locality; a small pond called 'Nandā Puṣkariṇī', marking the ancient course of the Ganges, is now pointed out as the Cakratīrtha in a village named Baḍāśi Mādhavapura, 4 miles to the South-east of the Railway station Mathurapur Road on the B.A.R. in the district of 24-Perganas.

A fourth Vaiṣṇava shrine is mentioned in Act VI of the drama—the temple of Madhusūdana near Mandara Hill. It is apparently marked by the present Mandār Hills to the south of Bhagalpur. According to Rāmānanda, the Bengali commentator of the Kāśikhaṇḍa, this shrine also belonged to Bengal:—

मन्दरमधुसूदनो गौड़े प्रसिद्धः, तदुक्तं ।
वीरचन्दनयोर्मध्ये मन्दरो नाम पर्वतः ।
यस्यारोहणमात्रेण नरो नारायणो भवेत् ॥

(under III. 60)

Śānti along with Gītā is represented by the poet as taking shelter in this shrine in fear of molestation at the hands of Tarkavidyās and the heroine herself Upaniṣad, when molested by the different Tarkavidyās was rescued by emissaries of this shrine.

The existence of the above shrines—and there must have been many others such as Mahāsthān in North Bengal (cf. Rāmānanda under Kāśikhaṇḍa VI. 24 महालयो महास्थानं गौड़े प्रसिद्धम्)—proves that the ascetic and spiritual side of the Aryan culture had a regular growth in Bengal from very early times long before the Christian era down to the 11th century A.D., when Kṛṣṇamiśra from Central India selected Cakratīrtha of Bengal as the fit abode of the hero of his drama. The growth of the intellectual culture in Bengal culminating in aggrssive dialectics is more eloquently testified to by the poet, who proved by implication that the centre of this culture was at Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha, the foremost institution being located at a village named Bhurisṛṣṭi (Act II). About a century before Kṛṣṇamiśra Śrīdhara, the distinguished author of the *Nyāyakandalī*, had his seminary there. This village gave its name to a Śrotriya family of the Rāḍhīya Brahmins and to a small Pargana comprised within the two districts of Hooghly and Howrah, now known as Bhursut. A village named Dihi Bhursut on the Kāṇā Dāmodara within the Howrah district evidently marks the site of the ancient city. In the times of Śrīdhara the place was inhabited by a large number of merchants भूरिश्रेष्ठिजनाश्रयः

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This is remarkably corroborated by local traditions, according to which the Dāmodara was a huge river in those times when ships from Tamluk passed through it to the village Gaḍa Bhavānipura *via* a village named Palaspāi near Jhikrā. An idea of the breadth of the mighty river is conveyed by the interesting local tradition that it was all water between Ghaṇṭeśvara (Śiva) at Khānākul in the Hooghly district and Jaleśvara at Jayapura in the Howrah district, with the small mound of Bhairavi raising its head as an island. There is a volume of evidence to show that Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha continued to supply the best intellects of Bengal till the beginning of the 13th century A.D. when the Mahomedan invasion took place.

Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara studies in Bengal

There is ample evidence that both the schools of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā were assiduously studied in Bengal from the earliest times. Śrīdhara in his *Nyāyakandalī* stated that he had previously written three more works, *Advayasiddhi* (p. 5, on Vedānta), *Tattvasaṃvādinī* (p. 82) and *Tattvaprabodha* (pp. 82 & 146, on Mīmāṁsā).[3] Śrīdhara proves himself to be a staunch follower of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, who is always mentioned by him with the utmost respect e.g. यथादुर्भटमिश्रा (pp. 173, 242), यथोक्तं मीमांसागुरुभिः (p. 220 : the quotation that follows is from the *Ślokavārtika*, p. 444) and यथाहुः तन्त्रटीकायां सर्व्वोत्तरबुद्धयो गुरवः (p. 257, the quotation is from the *Tantravārtika* followed by another from the Kārikā i.e. the *Ślokavārtika*). In one place (p. 248) a line of the *Ślokavārtika* is cited under the caption यथोपदिशन्ति गुरवः and in another (p. 105) the refutation of a Mīmāṁsā doctrine from the Vaiśeṣika standpoint is concluded with the apology कृतं गुरुप्रतिकूलवादेन. Śrīdhara was thus undoubtedly by profession a student of the Bhaṭṭa school of the Mīmāṁsā and his reference to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa simply as 'Guravaḥ' can only be explained by the assumption that he was connected with him through a direct line of teachers. On p. 130 the kārikā

आशामोदकतृप्ता ये ये चोपार्जितमोदकाः ।
रसवीर्यविपाकादि तेषां तुल्यं प्रसज्यते ॥

3 *Saṅgraha-ṭīkā* (p. 159) is not certainly the name of another work of Śrīdhara, as stated in *Hist. of Bengal* (I, p. 313). No work of the name of *Saṅgraha* is known which could engage the labours of a superior scholar like Śrīdhara for exposition. The text under reference only contains a clever antithetical phrase when the author stops from further expansion (विस्तर) of arguments ill-suited in a gloss of a work of the nature of a compendium (संग्रह).

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is cited with the heading यथोक्तं गुरुभिः This kārikā, which is also cited by Śrīharṣa in the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* (Chowkh. Ed., p. 66-7), cannot be traced in the existing works of Kumārila and may belong to an unknown work of Śrīdhara's own teacher.

The Mīmāṁsā scholars of the Bhaṭṭa school occupied the foremost rank in the learned aristocracy of Bengal in the middle of the 11th century. This is proved by the curious imprecation found at the end of *Cakradatta-saṅgraha* as a guard against plagiarism :—

यः सिद्धयोगलिखिताधिकसिद्धयोगान्
तत्रैव निक्षिपति केवलमुद्धरेद्वा ।
भट्टत्रय-त्रिपथवेदविदा जनेन
दत्तः पतेत् सपदि मूर्द्धनि तस्य शापः ॥

The commentator explains कारिका बृहट्टीका (? टुप्टीका) तन्त्रटीकेति भट्टत्रयम् । Cakrapāṇidatta himself and not his father was the minister of king Nayapāla (1040-55 A.D.).[4]

The Mīmāṁsā continued to be the leading branch of learning when Kṛṣṇamiśra wrote (cf. v. 7 of the *Prabodhacandrodaya*). In the following verse of the drama the poet preserved for us a very important list of books actually studied at that time by the most advanced students of philosophy; it is put in the mouth of Ahaṅkāra who came from Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā :—

नैवाश्रावि गुरोर्मतं न विदितं तौतातितं दर्शनं
तत्त्वं ज्ञातमहो न शालिकगिरां वाचस्पतेः का कथा ।
सूक्तं नैव महोदधेरधिगतं माहाव्रती नेक्षिता
सूक्ष्मा वस्तुविचारणा नृपशुभिः सुस्थैः कथं स्थीयते ॥ (II. 3)

The commentator Nāṇḍillagopa, who wrote in the reign of the Karṇāta king Kṛṣṇarāya (1509-29 A.DD.) carefully and correctly recorded the names of the works meant here—Śārikā (so he spells it) wrote the *Ṛjuvimalā* and the *Dīpaśikhā* on Prabhākara's *Nibandhana* and *Vivaraṇa*. Tutātita i.e. Kumārila and Vācaspati's works are well-known. Mahodadhi was a fellow student of Śārikā and the author of a work named *Siddhāntarahasya* belonging to the Prabhākara school (शारिकनामसहब्रह्मचारी गुरुमते निबन्धनकर्त्ता भवनाथवत्) while Mahāvrata

4 The correct reading of the verse in question, inspite of Śivadāsa's gloss to the contrary, is गौराधिनाथरसवत्यधिकारिपात्रं being an epithet of Cakrapāṇi himself. The current reading पात्र-नारायणस्य is faulty in rhetoric as it involves the technical blemish called विधेयाविमर्श. Moreover, we are now in possession of evidence to be shortly published that Niścalakara the commentator of Cakradatta wrote his commentary when the king Rāmapāla (1078-1120 A.D.) was still on the throne.

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was a rival of Mahodadhi in the Bhaṭṭa school (महाव्रतो भट्टमतानुवर्त्ती महोदधिप्रतिस्पर्धी भवदेववत्). Both Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata are cited in Bhavanātha's *Nayaviveka* (Madras Ed., Tarkapāda, pp. 271 & 273). The latter is also referred to in Udayana's *Kusumāñjali* (महाव्रतीयाः in stavaka IV), Vallabha's *Nyāyalilāvatī* (Chowkh. Ed. p. 647) and Varadarāja's *Kusumāñjalibodhanī* (p. 31).

Nāṇḍillagopa indicates that in the 16th century the two ruling authorities of the Mīmāṁsā were Bhavanātha of the Prabhākara school and Bhavadeva of the Bhaṭṭa school and they were probably contemporary rivals like Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata. Fortunately the work of Bhavadeva, the *Tautātita-mata-tilakam*, is now available in print (S.B. Text, Benares in two parts). It is based on the *Tantravārtika* and thus covers I.-ii to III. iv only of Jaimini. At the end of each Pāda he utters an imprecation like Cakrapāṇidatta to guard against plagiarism which must have been very common in those days :—

यो नाम कश्चिदिह सङ्कलितं प्रमेयं
ग्रन्थान्तरे लिखति वा वदति स्वयं वा।
मत्कर्तृतामननुकीर्त्य स कीर्त्तिलोपा-
न्निःसन्ततिर्जगति जन्मशतानि भूयात्॥
(pp. 52, 144, 218 etc.)

The book is not a regular commentary on the *Tantravārtika* but consists of a full five-membered exposition of all the adhikaraṇas (rules of interpretation) of the Mīmāṁsā in a remarkably lucid and comprehensive manner. It is no wonder that it was soon regarded as a standard work on the subject. Hemādri refers to it (*Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, p. 120) as well as Vācaspati Miśra of Mithilā (*Dvaitanirṇaya*, Darbhanga Ed., p. 13 तृतीयाध्यायभवदेवविरोधात्). In an interesting passage he refers to a variation of local customs in West Bengal and East Bengal :— दुर्गोत्सव एव वराटादौ (? च राढ़ादौ) जम्बाललीलानुष्ठानं वङ्ग-पाश्चात्यानां तु चैत्रशुक्लचतुर्दश्यामेव। (p. 123)

We take this opportunity of briefly recording at this place some new facts throwing light on the remarkable career of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa. The so-called Bhuvaneśvara inscription of Bhavadeva was written when he was still serving as a minister to the unnamed son of Harivarman. This is clear from the last half of verse 16 of the inscription :—

तन्नन्दने वलति यस्य च दण्डनीति-
वर्त्मानुगा बहुलकल्पलतेव लक्ष्मीः।

It means—'Fortune goddess, who follows the path of polity laid out by whom (i.e. Bhavadeva), flourishes (from the root वल् प्राणने in the present tense) in his son also like the Kalpalatā (in the celestial

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garden). 'Yasya' is construed with 'daṇḍanīti and not with 'Lakṣmī'. As the inscription has at last been proved to have no connection whatever with Bhuvaneśvara (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, pp. 202-3 f.n.), the temple of Bhavadeva to which it was originally fixed must be placed somewhere in Bengal, *but not in Rāḍhā*. This will be evident from a careful analysis of vv. 26-27 of the inscription constituting a single sentence. The main sentence runs येन राढ़ायां जलाशयः अकारि तेन नारायणः प्रतिष्ठापितः।If the temple was built at Rāḍha the mention of 'Rāḍhāyām' in the previous dependent clause becomes grammatically incorrect. The only inference that can be drawn in the matter is that the temple was built at the then capital of the well-known monarch of Vaṅga i.e. Vikramapura, where the family settled from the times of Bhavadeva's grandfather.. A remarkable corroboration of this fact is available from a most unexpected source. A transcript of the inscription of Bhavadeva written in a single sheet of early English paper (bearing the water-mark 'Portal & Bridget') was discovered by us in the Mss. collection of the celebrated Raghumaṇi Vidyābhūṣaṇa of Bāhirgāchi in the Nadia district. The paper was torn into four pieces, one of which containing the reading of vv. 6-15 of the inscription is lost. Fortunately the scholar who first deciphered the inscription left the following note in three elegant verses in Sanskrit :—

इत्येषा कविराजिराजरचिता रम्या सुपद्यावली
पाषाणोपरि भट्टपादविदुषां सद्वंशकीर्त्युत्तरा ।
ढक्कायां पुरि पार्थिवेन कृतिना पद्यार्थजिज्ञासुना
चानीता बुधवर्यसंसदि मुदा सन्दर्शिताप्यादरात् ॥
राजाज्ञया राजपुरस्कृतेन श्रीराजचन्द्रद्विजपण्डितेन ।
उद्धारितास्त्रिंशतुरीयसंख्याः श्लोकास्तु शेषश्च विलुप्तवर्णः ॥
धराधीश्वरनिर्णीतगुणिसंसदि साम्प्रतं ।
संप्रेष्यते सुबोधार्था पश्चखलास्ति संशयः ॥

The inscribed stone was thus first brought by a high English official to the city of Dacca, where it was exhibited in a learned assembly and was deciphered at his request by one Pandit Rājacandra. In the third line of the first verse the word पाटिसेन (Pāṭisena) was first written and later changed to पार्थिवेन. Evidently the name of the official who brought the stone was mentioned as Pāṭisena who can be easily identified as J. D. Paterson, the Judge and Magistrate of Dacca in 1791-95 A.D.[5] Rājacandra is identical with Pandit Rājacandra Tarkā-

5 This J. D. Paterson was Settlement Officer of Baldakhal in the Tippera district in 1787-88 A.D. He is invariably referred to in Bengali as 'Patisen Sāheb'.

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lańkāra of the Provincial Court of Dacca, who died in harness in 1824 A.D. (*vide* B. N. Banerji: *Samvādapatre Sekālera Kathā*, vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 50). The stone was discovered apparently somewhere in the Mufassil some time between 1791-95 A.D. The work of decipherment was admirably done by the Pandit whose reading is at places better than that of Prinsep (published in 1837). Bhavadeva's date along with that of his patron Harivarman can be fixed within very narrow limits. The Ms. dated in the 46th year of Harivarman (Śāstrī, *Des. Cat of Buddhist Mss.*, *ASB.*, p. 79) contains a verifiable datum 'Kṛṣṇa-Saptamī falling on Māgha 11'. According to the Metonic cycle this occurs every 19 years: the possible dates are 1100, 1119 and 1138 A.D. There cannot be any doubt that the most suitable date is 1119 A.D. for the 46th year of Harivarman, who must then have ascended the throne in 1073-74 A.D. Bhavadeva's period of literary activity may be placed accordingly within 1060-1110 A.D. Most of his works were written before 1100 A.D. For, Niścalakara, the commentator of Cakradatta, who wrote during the reign of Rāmapāla (1078-1120 A.D.), quoted six times from a Gandhaśāstra of Bhavadeva (foll. 230-33 of Ms. No. 620 of 1895-1902, *BORI.*, Poona). On the other hand Bhavadeva mentions Dhāreśvara i.e. Bhojadeva in the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* (p. 82); he could not have, therefore, written before 1060 A.D.

Bhavadeva's well-known title 'Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga' has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted. A meaning of the word has been long current among the commentators of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* which seems to have escaped the notice of all recent scholars who wrote on the subject. Several scholiasts on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Eastern India interpreted the word 'Abhinava-guptapāda' as a synonym of 'Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga' (evidently because both 'guptapāda' and 'bhujaṅga' mean a serpent):—

अभिनवगुप्तपादो वलभीभुजङ्गनाम्नोभवदेवस्य संज्ञा, बहुवचनश्रीपदाभ्यां संमतत्वमुक्तम्

(Comm. of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, Benares Litho Ed., p. 38a). Also, Śrīvatsalāñchana in the Sārabodhinī (Ms. No. 546, Govt. collection of R.A.S.B., fol. 29a)—अभिनवगुप्तपादा इति च तस्य बालवलभीभुजङ्ग इति नाम। तदेव भङ्ग्यन्तरेणोक्तं यथा तौतातिता इति। In the *Sudhāsāgara* of Bhīmasena we find (Chowkh. Ed., p. 121):—इदमल रहस्यम् पुरा किल काचित् वलभी पठतां बहूनां ब्राह्मणबालानामध्ययनशालासीत्। तल पठन् कश्चिद्गौडबालोऽतिसौबुध्यान्मुखरत्वाच्च निखिलबालानां भयप्रदत्वेन बालवलभीभुजङ्ग इति गुरुणा व्यपदिष्टः। This is partly corroborated by Bhavadeva himself in his Mīmāṁsā work:—

मामध्ययनदशायामुवाच वाचं दर्शि (? देवी) खप्ने।
बालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनामा त्वमसि भवदेव। (Introd. v. 2)

We would emend the faulty reading in the second line as

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उवाच (सु-)वाचं देशिकः स्वप्ने । The word 'Bālavalabhī' cannot be the name of Bhavadeva's native village (which was Siddhala), as the word 'bhujaṅga' makes no sense when joined with a place name without a word like 'vilāsini' intervening.

When Bhavadeva wrote there were only two commentaries on the *Tantravārtika*, the *Ajitā* and the *Anupadam* : —

अजिता नैव सुबोधा संक्षिप्तं नानुपदमतो लोकाः ।

(वि-)हतोत्साहा जाता न जानते तन्त्रटीकार्थम् ॥ (Introd. v. 4)

The Ajitā by Paritoṣa Miśra is available in Mss. (No. G. 1221 of R.A.S.B., R. 368, 1329, 2787 of Madras &c.). The name of the commentary is after the name of a river Ajitā, on whose bank the author lived :

अजितातटमधि पस्त्यात्त (? पत्तन-) (वसता त-)ज्जलसे(वन)पानेन ।

यस्मादियं विरचिता तस्मादजितैव नाम्नास्तु ॥ (*vide* R. 368)

The river Ajitā cannot be clearly located. We are of opinion that it is identical with the river Ajaya, forming the boundary of Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha. Paritoṣa Miśra then belonged to Bengal and may be identical with the ancestor of the same name of Nārāyaṇa Upādhyāya, author of the *Chāndogya-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa* and lived probably in the first half of the 11th century. If we consider that we have got very few surviving works of the Bhaṭṭa school written during the Hindu period in the whole of India Bengal's contribution represented by the distinguished names of Paritoṣa and Bhavadeva cannot be regarded as poor. The *Anupadam* mentioned by Bhavadeva and cited by him actually (p. 158) is not otherwise known; it may be a work of Mahāvrata, who also may have belonged to Bengal.

Both Kumārila and Prabhākara belonged to Eastern India, not excluding Bengal. The Tibetan historian Tāranātha recorded carefully the views of two ancient historians on the exact date of Gopāla's election to the throne of Bengal : according to Indradatta, Gopāla was elected one year after what must have been a famous event in those times viz., the death of one 'Ācārya Mīmāṁsaka,' while according to Kṣemendrabhadra it was seven years after that event (Schiefner, p. 204). This Ācārya Mīmāṁsaka is undoubtedly Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, who comes after Dharmakīrti (c. 650 A.D.) and before Śāntarakṣita (c. 750 A.D.) and must have died about the year 725 A.D. We are sorry to miss a discussion of this important point in the otherwise exhaustive treatment of Gopāla's reign in the *Hist. of Bengal*. Prabhākara tops in the list in Kṛṣṇamiśra's enumeration of Mīmāṁsā works cited above, showing that already the Prabhākara school was

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getting the upper hand in the learned aristocracy. In course of the next few centuries the Prabhākara school reigned supreme both in Bengal and Mithilā. In the *Kāvyaprakāśa-dipikā* of Caṇḍidāsa, who wrote in the middle of the 13th century, we come across the following interesting passage in Ullāsa V :—

न च सामान्ययोः परस्परमन्वयः सम्भवति । व्यक्तिद्वारकान्वयस्तु व्यक्तीनामसामान्यतयानभिधेयत्वेन निरस्त इति चेत् किं पुनरतः । प्राभाकरीयान्विताभिधानदौर्बल्यादिति चेत् किमस्माकमनया परगृहचिन्तया । यथा तथा प्राचीनतन्त्रापूर्व्ववृत्तिबोध्यो वाक्यार्थ इत्येतावानेव हि भानितन्त्रसारः । यदि तु प्राभाकरैः सार्द्धं विजिगीषुकथाकण्ठदुर्द्धरो देहस्तदा तामेव ग्राथितुं राढादिराष्ट्रं गच्छेति व्यङ्ग्य एव सर्वो वाक्यानामर्थ इति निर्व्विवादमतः ।

(fol. 4 of Ms. No. G. 3783 of the R.A.S.B., a very old palm-leaf copy). Caṇḍidāsa was a grand-uncle of Viśvanātha Kavirāja and belonged to Orissa. The following passage of the *Laṭakamelakam* of Śaṅkhadhara also clearly points to the supremacy of the Prabhākara school in Bengal :—

तथाहि राढ़ीया वचनरचना,

एष व्याकरणं न वेत्ति न कृतः काव्येष्वनेन श्रमः
श्रुत्वाचामति भट्टवार्त्तिकगिरः स्नाति स्पृशंस्तद्विदः ।
चाण्डालानिव तर्कशासनपटून्नैयायिकान् मन्यते
राढ़ीयैरतिहर्षगद्गदगलैः प्राभाकरः श्रूयते ॥ (Act II, v. 16)

(Kāvyamālā Ed. 1889, p. 22)

A well-known verse of Śaṅkhadhara (II. 15, *ib.* p. 21 गुरोर्गिरः पञ्चदिनान्युपास्य...) is cited in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (III. 219) and in some Mss. under the caption यथा मम. Śaṅkhadhara, therefore, belonged to Orissa and was probably a contemporary of Viśvanātha. His patron 'Raṇaraṅgamalla' Mahāmāṇḍalikādhirāja Govindadeva or Govindarāja (but not Govindacandra), who has been quite wrongly identified with the great Govindacandra of Kanauj, must have been a local chieftain of Orissa, where the work was popular.

Many renowned scholars of Bengal professed themselves to belong to the Prabhākara school. Nārāyaṇa Upādhyāya, author of the *Chāndogya-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa* and of the long-lost *Samayaprakāśa*, was प्रभाकरमतस्थितिलब्धकीर्त्तिः (v. 11 of the Introd. to the former work). His father Gona, who was the Dharmādhikārī of a certain king (*ib.*, v. 10), was गुरुरिव तन्त्रे (v. 9). The commentator Śrīnātha Ācāryacuḍāmaṇi explains गुरुः प्रभाकरः (*Sāramañjarī* : Ms. 1508 of Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, fol. 2b). Gona's father Umāpati again was a प्राभाकरग्रामणीः (v. 8). Umāpati accepted large gifts from a king named Jayapāla. But the contention (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, p. 319) that this Jayapāla is identical with the cousin of Devapāla and that Nārāyaṇa himself was a contemporary of the latter king is quite

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wrong. In the first place, the royal cousin Jayapāla was never a king (इमापाल) and in the second, Nārāyaṇa was a much later author as he cited by name Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa the Gobhila-Bhāṣyakāra (*vide Pariśiṣṭaprakāśa*, Fasc. I, pp. 71, 136, 176, 178; Fasc. II, pp. 8 & 31) and the *Kalpataru*, (*ib.* Fasc. I, pp. 15, 32), besides referring to the views of the *Hāralatā* according to the commentary of Śrīnātha (foll. 39-40). Nārāyaṇa Upādhyāya, who is thus quite different from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, belonged to the 13th century at the earliest. The patron of his grand-father is evidently identical with king Jayapāla of Kāmarūpa mentioned in the Silimpur stone inscription (v. 22), who was also noted for his great munificence and has been rightly assigned to late in the 12th century (*vide* Padmanatha Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali*, Introd. pp. 36-38. Umāpati is identified with the famous Umāpatidhara, which is, however, quite unwarranted).

When Gaṅgeśa wrote about the middle of the 14th century the Prabhākara school was a dominating factor in Mithilā and his epoch-making work the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* was really inspired by his studies on the Nyāya and Prabhākara-Mimāṃsā, as he himself stated at the beginning of his work :—

अन्वीक्षानयमाकलय्य गुरुभिर्ज्ञात्वा गुरूणां मतं
प्रज्ञादिव्यविलोचनेन च तयोः सारं विलोक्याखिलम् ।

Most of the works of the Prabhākara school must have been written in Mithilā and Bengal. Śālikanātha, one of the foremost authorities of the school, belonged to Bengal, as Udayana's fling at a Gauḍa-Mīmāṃsaka in the *Kusumāñjali* (Stavaka III) has been explained by the Kasmirian Varadarāja (*Kusumāñjali-bodhanī*, p. 123) as a reference to the Pañcikākāra. The only Pañcikā available in early Mīmāṃsā literature is the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* (of Śālikanātha), which is cited as simply the Pañcikā by later authors (e. g. by Candra mentioned below). The identification of Śālikanātha and the Pañcikākāra is, therefore, quite correct, though under the highest judicial canons it may be 'unproved' (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, p. 313 f.n.). We claim for Bengal another distinguished author of the Prabhākara school viz. Mahāmahopādhyāya Candra. At the end of one of his works the *Nayaratnākara* he stated that he belonged to the family named 'Pośālī' :—

असौ चन्द्रः श्रीमानकृत नयरत्नाकरमिमं
निबन्धं पोशाली-कुलकलमकेदारमिहिरः ।

(H. P. Sastri, *Darbar Library Cat.*, 1905, p. 113)

Mm. Dr. Umesha Sastri claims him for Mithilā (*Jha Commemoration Vol.*, p. 243), but, as far as we are aware, no family of that name ever existed in Mithilā. Posali, on the other hand, is a well-known Śrotriya family of Rāḍhīya Brahmins in Bengal; it is known at

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present as 'Puśilāla', belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra. In earlier genealogical works the name of the family is regularly mentioned as 'Poṣali' or 'Poṣalī' :—भानुः पोषलिरेव च। तिलाडी पोषली नान्दी पलशाजिस्तथैव च। (from Mss. in our possession). शौरिः पौषलिरेव च (from Dhruvānanda Miśra's *Mahāvaṃśāvalī*, Ms. at Navadvīpa). जगनामा पोषलीयः (Hari Miśra cited by N. Vasu, *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, vol. I, pt. I, 2nd ed., p. 118). A family of engravers—Vibhramāditya, his son Mahīdharadeva and his son Śaśideva—is described in the Bāngaḍ plate of Mahīpāla I and the Āmgāchi plate of Vigrahapāla III as पोसलिग्रामनिर्यात (*EI.*, XIV, p. 328 & 293). So, Posali was the name of a famous village which, as the place of origin of a branch of the Rāḍhīya Brahmins, must have been situated within Rāḍha. Mahāmahopādhyāya Candra like Bhavadeva and Jimūtavāhana thus belongs to a Śrotrīya family of Rāḍha. He was better known among early Navyanyāya scholars as the author of a Prakaraṇa named *Amṛtabindu*. We discovered the only existing copy of this valuable work in the Mss. collection of the R.A.S.B. (Ms. No. III F. 149, foll. 49 written in modern Nagri, but hopelessly corrupt). It begins :—वेदप्रामाण्याधीना हि पुरुषार्थसिद्धिः। तच्चापूर्व्वस्य कार्यस्य वाक्यार्थत्वे, तदपि कृतिप्रधानस्य विधित्वे सिध्यतीति तदादौ निर्णीयते। and ends :—स्वर्गकामना हि पुरुषं विशिनष्टि। अवशिष्टं कृतदर्शपूर्णमासः स्वर्गकामनावान् फले भिन्ने जुह्वतीत्यादिषु मन्तव्यं। इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्याय श्रीचन्द्रकृतौ अमृतबिन्दुर्नाम प्रकरणं समाप्तं ॥

The book which covers the same ground as the Vidhivāda and the Apūrvavāda of the Śabdakhaṇḍa of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and displays the same Navyanyāya manner of almost interminable streams of arguments and counter-arguments was undoubtedly one of the earliest works that inspired Gaṅgeśa. The references in this work are as follows :—Jarantaḥ (24a), Nibandhana (36b, 48ab), Prakaraṇapañjikā (24a), Bhāṣya (23a), Mahāvrata (45a) & Vivaraṇa (23a, 36b, 48b). In the *Nayaratnākara* he refers to the Vivaraṇa, the Viveka, the Pañcikā and Śrīkara. (Dr. Mishra in *Jha Comm. Vol.*, p. 245). He has been placed 'before 1100 A.D.' (*ib.* p. 246). His reference to Śrīkara and the Viveka i.e. the *Nayaviveka* of Bhavanātha Miśra places him in our opinion not earlier than the 12th century. For. Bhavanātha, who also refers to Śrīkara (*Nayaviveka*, p. 271), seems from the manner of his mention by Nāṇḍillagopa, to have been a contemporary rival of Bhavadeva and like the latter may have also belonged to Bengal.

Some Forgotten Smṛti Writers of Bengal

Mīmāṁsā is the logic of the Dharmaśāstra and most of the Smṛti writers were renowned scholars in the Mīmāṁsā also. Śrīkara mentioned above is a notable instance, though his work on Smṛti is now

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lost. Śrīkara's views on Prāyaścitta have been refuted by Bhavadeva (*Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa*, pp. 9, 105), though his authority is recognised and invoked by the latter (*ib.*, p. 82). Jimūtavāhana, who wrote the *Kālaviveka* soon after 1093 A.D. and certainly before 1100 A.D,[6] cited and criticised the views of Śrīkara Miśra 7 times in the *Dāyabhāga* and 5 times in the *Vyavahāramātṛkā*, but not even once in the *Kālaviveka*. Some of the contents of Śrīkara's lost work are preserved in these references. We have heard of a tradition handed down in the Nadia seminaries among the renowned teachers of the Dāyabhāga that Śrīkara was in relation an uncle पितृस्वसृपति of Jimūtavāhana and Viśvarūpa, who was quite different from the earlier Viśvarūpa who is taken as identical with Sureśvara and Bhavabhūti, was also closely related to him. Both of them lived about 1050 A.D. Viśvarūpa has been several times quoted by Śūlapāṇi in the *Dīpakalikā*, but none of these notes of Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya can be traced in the *Bālakrīḍā* of the earlier Viśvarūpa.[7]

Bhavadeva refers once to the views of Jikana (*Prāyaścitta-P.*, p. 102), who also belonged to Bengal and wrote a fairly comprehensive treatise on Śmṛti. Sūlapāṇi quotes him 23 times in the *Prāyaścittaviveka*, by far the largest number of references to a single work in that book, 8 times in the *Śrāddhaviveka* and once in the *Durgotsavaviveka*. Raghunandana refers to his Antyeṣṭhividhi in the *Śuddhitattva* and his views on malamāsa and his definition of mahādāna are cited in the *Malamāsatattva*.

Of the several writers on the subject of time quoted by Jimūtavāhana in the *Kālavīveka*, only Jitendriya and Yogloka are mentioned (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, p. 319). Let us mention the rest—a galaxy of scholars, all belonging to Bengal and flourishing within a century

6 The *Kālaviveka* examines the Purṇimānta and Amānta schemes of the lunar calendar with the help of a number of figures drawn from actual almanacs for the years 1013 and 1014 Śaka (1091-93 A.D.). We have verified all the figures, 10 in number, under modern calculations with a remarkable degree of agreement (*IHQ.*, III, pp. 572-4). The last month mentioned, solar Caitra (p. 43), ends on March 24, 1093 A.D. and this portion of the book was certainly written soon after early in 1093 A.D. For, the figures, for whose accuracy Jimūta asks (p. 54) his readers to consult mathematicians i.e. the almanac-makers, must have been taken from current almanacs ready at hand and not from obsolete ones. The *Kālaviveka* was published in 1905, after which all speculations about Jimūtavāhana's date should have ceased.

7 Viśvarūpa's notes on Yājñavalkya are found on fol. 2b, 8b, 11a & 58a of *Dīpakalikā*, Ms. No. 1486 of Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. His citations by Bhavadeva and Jimūtavāhana prove that he wrote a comprehensive treatise on Smṛti unlike his ancient name-sake.

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before Jimūtavāhana. Dīkṣita, once mentioned by Raghunandana in the Malamāsatattva, is quoted 18 times, once as an authority of equal rank with Bhojadeva (p. 290). He comes after both Yogloka (p. 280) and Jitendriya (p. 78). Sambhrama Bhaṭṭa is quoted 9 times including a long note of his on 'Dvirāṣāḍha' (pp. 240-53): he preceded Jitendriya (p. 255). Andhuka is quoted 10 times: two of his observations are fortunately noted by Jimūtavāhana,. one in Kartika 952 Śaka (p. 51) and the other in 955 Śaka (p. 119: *vide* verification in *IHQ.*, III, p. 573). Śaṅkhadhara, quoted 7 times, was the author of a (Smṛti-) Samuccaya (p. 310): he is also cited in the *Hāralatā* and by Śūlapāṇi, Raghunandana and other Bengali authors, but is unknown in Mithilā. So also Dhavala, who is quoted 7 times. The works of all these writers are now entirely lost, being superseded by the great work of Jimūtavāhana.

Govindarāja is one of the greatest authorities in the Dharmaśāstra literature of India. Besides the *Manuṭīkā* long available in print he is the author of a treatise *Smṛtimañjarī*, which is the earliest Nibandha so far discovered. A complete manuscript of this rare book is preserved in the Govt. Collection of the R.A.S,B (Ms. No. 10729), written unfortunately in the Newari script of difficult reading. The date of the copy is given in a chronogram :—

संवत् 'आचुहृ' वैशाखकृष्णसप्तम्यां आदित्यदिने

The year has been interpreted to mean 265 of the Newari era, corresponding to 1144 A.D. (*Des. Cat.*, III, p. 54). But the copy does not look more than 500 years old. Probably the year is 562 by the well-known rule of reverse. That Govindarāja belonged to Bengal is proved by the following evidence. Twenty years ago we came across the following interesting passage in a Ms. of *Śuddhidīpikā-prakāśa* of Rāghava Ācāryaratna. Commenting on IV. 2 Rāghava writes :—

अयं च गौड़देश उज्जयिनीपूर्व्वः सूर्य्यादयात् परमेवात्र वाराधिकारः। तत्र चन्द्रकरमते देशान्तरयोजनानि त्रीणि शतानि, तेन पादोनदण्डचतुष्टयादूर्द्ध्वं मित्र वाराधिकारः। अन्येषामशीतियोजनानि तेन दण्डादूर्द्ध्वं मिति। "चतुर्धनं वङ्गजगन्निवासयोर्व्विंशाधिकं तत्परमेशरेखयो"रिति देशान्तरयोजनप्रतिपादक-गोविन्दराजादिधृतवृद्धवचनदर्शनात् एकपञ्चाशत्पलाधिकदण्डैकोपरि-सूर्य्यादयानन्तरमत्र देशे वार इति युक्तम्। (*vide Śuddhidīpikā*, Gurunātha's ed., 1334 B.S., p. 119).

This suggests that Govindrāja belonged to Bengal. Rāghava preceded Govindānanda, as the latter has criticised the former's views in his comm. on the same work (*ib.*, pp. 83 & 183-4). Rāghava flourished, therefore, about 1500 A.D. Govindarāja, moreover, has been respectfully referred to by Jimūtavāhana and Aniruddha (in the *Hāralatā*), two of the earliest authorities of the Bengal school of Smṛti. At the

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end of the India office Ms. of the *Smṛtimañjarī* Govindarāja states in a verse that he lived on the bank of the Ganges :—

खर्वाहिनीपुलिनलाञ्छनलब्धकीर्त्ति-र्नारायणस्य तनयात्मज उच्चिकाय ।
वाक्यावलीमखिलसत्परणावतंसात् गोविन्दराज इह माधव इहभूमिः ॥

(Eggeling, *I. O. Cat.*, I, p. 472)

The verse is, however, not found in the Calcutta Ms. In the *Śrāddhaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi funeral rites are forbidden to be performed in a tract called 'Triśaṅku-deśa' :—

वायुपुराणे, "त्रिशङ्कोर्व्वर्ज्जयेद्देशं सर्व्वं द्वादशयोजनम् । उत्तरेण महानद्या दक्षिणेन तु कीकटात् । देशस्त्रैशङ्कवो नाम श्राद्धकर्मणि गर्हितः ॥ कीकटो मगधो । (See also Rudradhara's *Śrāddhaviveka*, Benares Ed., 1936, p. 38). We have been able to trace the original passage in the *Smṛtimañjarī* (Calcutta Ms., fol. 68a) :

"आह शंखः । त्रिशंकुं वर्जयेद्देशं सर्व्वं द्वादशयोजनं उत्तरेण महानद्या दक्षिणेन च चैकटं । देशस्त्रैशंकवो नाम वर्जयेत् श्राद्धकर्मणि ॥ त्रिशंकुर्दक्षिणपश्चिमायां दिशि ।"

The prohibited tract north of the Mahānadī and south of Magadha i.e. somewhere to the south of Ranchi falls to the south-west of Govindarāja's homeland. In other words his native village is situated to the east of Magadha on the bank of the Ganges, somewhere in Uttara Rāḍha. This is a convincing proof of his Bengali origin. Elsewhere also he indicated the location of a country by pointing the direction from his home :—(fol. 1b) विनमनं सरस्वत्या अन्तर्द्धानदेशः । पश्चिमायां दिशि । Govindarāja is not cited by Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, who may have slightly preceded Jimūtavāhana. Govindarāja's date may be tentatively placed, therefore, about 1050 A.D., being thus a contemporary of Bhojadeva but anterior to the authors of the *Kāmadhenu*, *Kalpataru*, *Pārijāta*[8], *Mitākṣarā* and all other later works.

Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa wrote a large number of works on the Smṛtiśāstra, only three of his works have been discovered and published, the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* (Rajashahi ed., 1927), *Daśakarmapaddhati* and the *Sambandhaviveka (New Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, No. 8—the title Bālavalabhībhujaṅga does occur in this book also ; we examined a copy in our own family collection 30 years ago). A copy of Bhavadeva's *Vyavahāratilaka* was traced by R. L. Mitra (*Proc. A. S. B.*, May 1869, p. 130), but it seems to have been never

8 It seems to have escaped the notice of all scholars that the name of the author of the *Pārijāta* was **'पदवाक्यप्रमाणरत्नाकर-श्रीरत्नपाणि'** and one part of it on Prāyaścitta, complete in 82 folios, was discovered at Ula in the Nadia district and reported upon by R. L. Mitra, *Notices* vol. VI, No. 2238. The Ms. was in the Bengali script. The *Kāmadhenu* is cited in this book.

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recovered. Bhavadeva's *Tithinirṇaya* is cited by Rāya Mukuṭa (*IHQ.*, XVII, pp. 462-3). The name of another work of Bhavadeva has been traced. Raghunandana quotes from a book named *Nirṇayāmṛta* (*J.A.S.B.*, 1915, p. 367) and distinguishes it from a '*Pāścātya-Nirṇayāmṛta*' also cited by him (*ib.*, p. 368). This is a long-lost work of Bhavadeva. In the India office Library there is a composite Ms. (Eggeling, pp. 474-5) consisting of three parts, Aniruddha's *Karmopadeśinī* (fol. 1-82), a (Maithila ?) anonymous work on Śuddhi (fol. 82-114) and Balabhadra's *Aśaucasāra* (fol. 115-124). In the anonymous work on Śuddhi there is an important reference to निर्णयामृते भवदेवभट्टः (fol. 84a). Sometime ago we examined a copy of Raghunandana's *Āhnikācāratattva* ; there is a marginal note on fol. 1a as follows :—

तथा च भवदेवीयनिर्णयामृते सुमन्तुः, रात्रेः पश्चिमयामस्य मुहूर्त्तो यस्तृतीयकः। स ब्राह्म इति विज्ञेयो विहितः सम्प्रबोधने ॥

Under the Sena rule an important name has been omitted probably through oversight viz. Śrīnivāsa, the famous author of the *Śuddidipikā* and the greatest authority on Astronomy and 'judicial' astrology. He wrote the *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi* in 1091 Śaka (1159-60 A.D.) on the evidence of Sarvānanda. His *Śuddhidipikā* is up till now the standard book on the subject of auspicous time and astrology and is commented upon by a galaxy of Bengali scholars—Saubhari, Candrakara, Rāghava, Govindānanda, Kṛṣṇānanda, Mathurānātha, to name only a few. Like Aniruddha he was respectfully engaged by Vallāla and his son Lakṣmaṇa to write for them the *Adbhutaśāgara* as stated in verse 8 of the Introduction—a magnificent eulogy by the royal patrons of one of the greatest scholars of the age. The *Adbhutaśāgara* was begun in 1090 Śaka (1168 A.D.) and finished after the death of king Vallāla. Śrīnivāsa's eminence at the royal court can be inferred from the fact he was cited by his contemporary Halāyudha in the *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* (*J. A. S. B.*, 1915, p. 334).

Śrīharṣa the great Poet and Scholar

Śrīharṣa the 'Kavipaṇḍita' was the greatest academic figure of his age. His *Naiṣadhacarita* earned a place in the 'greater triad' (बृहत्त्रयी) of the immortal sextette of the Indian Mahākāvyas, while his *Khaṇḍana* continues till today to be a classical work of Indian dialectics. We are painfully surprised to read the short account of Śrīharṣa in the *History of Bengal* (I, pp, 306-8), where the learned contributor just mentions the name of the *Khaṇḍana* in a foot-note and concludes that the *Naiṣadhacarita* 'would be an acquisition of dubious value to

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Bengal if its Bengal origin were finally proved!' (p. 308). The poet's estimate by even a none-too-sympathetic foreign scholar (Keith, *Hist of Sans. Lit.*, pp. 139-42) is much better in comparison, and we are half-inclined to suspect, as a distinguished scholar did actually to our knowledge that the learned contributor of this chapter started to use his pen not even to correctly assess, far less to glorify, Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit Literature, but only to damn it with faint praise, specially the non-Buddhist portion of it. Before giving a correct account of Śrīharṣa, we have to face the problem—was he a Bengali ?

The problem was discussed at some length by the late Prof. Nīlakamala Bhattacharyya of the Benares Hindu University (Sarasvati Bhavana Studies, Vol. III, pp. 170-92), who collected evidences found in abundance in the book *Naiṣadhacarita*, which 'go unmistakably to show that his native land was Bengal' (p. 170). As a sort of reaction against this finding of the late Prof. Bhattacharyya it has been stated (*Hist. of Bengal*, I, pp. 306-8) that 'the evidence is not conclusive' and the poet's connection with Bengal is 'uncertain'. We shall attempt to re-examine the problem briefly with the newest materials.

The internal evidence, thoroughly stated by Prof. Bhattacharyya, is as follows :—

(1) Use of the word 'ulūlu' in Naiṣadha XIV. 51. Nārāyaṇa, the standard commentator, explains विवाहाद्युत्सवे स्त्रीणां धवलादिमङ्गलगीतिविशेषो गौड़देशे उलूलुरित्युच्यते। स्वदेशरीतिः कविनोक्ता। According to Dr. De 'Śrīharṣa's Bengal origin need not follow, as Nārāyaṇa in his commentary thinks, from this use.' We are afraid Dr. De has entirely misunderstood the words of Nārāyaṇa here. He is not certainly drawing any inference here that the poet's Bengal origin follows from this use ; he has simply stated the fact that the poet was referring to a custom of his own land i. e. Gauḍa. Nārāyaṇa believed that the poet belonged to Bengal evidently from well-known tradition current in his days.

(2) Use of the conch bangle by the bride in XV. 45 and its breaking as characterising the beginning of widowhood in XII, 35. In the former case again Nārāyaṇa clearly states गौड़देशे विवाहकाले शंखवलयधारणमाचारः। Prof. Bhattacharyya came to learn after investigation that this 'is characteristic of Bengal alone' (p. 171). Dr. De apparently made no such investigation, but caused confusion by stating wrongly that the custom is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kādambarī*. The last two passages, as Prof. Bhattacharyya correctly stated, do not refer to marriage customs at all. In the former (Virāṭa XI. 1) it was not a new bride but Arjuna who appeared before the king of Virāṭa in lady's ornaments including a pair of gold bangles 'upon conch' (दीर्घे च कम्बूपरि हाटके शुभे). In the latter pieces of lotus stalks

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in a hermitage are likened to pieces of conch bangles slipping down from the ankles of the goddess Sarasvatī, the poet being quite oblivious of the inauspicious nature of the concept. We should add here that Mahāśvetā in her austerities is described as wearing, among others, bark as garment, sacred thread and 'pieces of conch' in her wrist (प्रकोष्ठप्रबद्धशंखखण्डकेन...दक्षिणाकरेण). So the references are quite contrary to the custom mentioned in the Naiṣadha.

(3) The tying of the hands of the bride and groom with a kuśa blade in XVI. 14. Here also Nārāyaṇa comments कुशैः पाणिबन्धनं देशाचारः The usage was prevalent, as the late Prof. Bhattacharyya learnt from investigation, 'in Bengal only' (p. 172).

(4) For some other customs, which are collectively specialities of Bengal alone, such as the painting of the floors with rice powder, niceties of fish and flesh in marriage feasts &c, see pp. 172-74 of Prof. Bhattacharyya's paper.

(5) Śrīharṣa wrote a panegyric of the family of a Gauḍa king as stated in VII. 110. Dr. De admits that this affords 'some plausibility' to Bengal's claim on the poet (p. 306).

It can be justly argued here that it is much more probable for a native of Bengal to migrate from a royal court of Bengal to Benares under the king of Kānyakubja than for a native of Kānyakubja to do so from Benares to Bengal.

(6) Prof. Bhattacharyya has cited many examples of the poet's indiscriminate use in alliteration of the (i) the three sibilants, (ii) the two nasals (*ṇ* & *n*), (iii) *ba* and *va*, (iv) *Ja* and *ya* and (v) *kṣa* and *khya* (pp. 185-87) to show that the poet's 'mother-tongue was Bengali'. Dr. De concedes that the argument is 'more relevant, if not definitely conclusive' (p. 306, f.n. 4).

(7) We should add here two references missed by the late Professor. In XVIII. 103 the poet uses the word उदयभास्कर and according to Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita it is a kind of camphor 'found in Gauḍa' (Handiqui, Tr. of the *Naiṣadha*, p. 540). In XXII. 53 the interesting word ललडिम्ब is used. Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita explains गौड़देशे प्रसिद्धं वर्तुलं चक्राकारं डिम्बनामधेयं बालक्रीड़नकम् । (Handiqui, *loc. cit.*, p, 489). Īśānadeva, another old commentator, also states गोड़देशे भ्रमरकस्य लाडिम्ब इति नाम (*ib.*, p. 594). Nārāyaṇa is more explicit:—गौड़देशभाषायां भ्रमरकस्य संज्ञा । महाराष्ट्रभाषायां कान्यकुब्जभाषायां च 'भवरा' इति । (*ib.*). The discovery of this familiar name of a top still universally current in Bengal in the Naiṣadha is, in our opinion, the most convincing of all the evidence pointing to the Bengali origin of the poet.

The external evidence is equally abundant on the point. The commentators Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita (1297 A.D.), Īśānadeva and Nārāyaṇa

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believed that the poet belonged to Bengal. In the Harihara-prabandha of the *Prabandhakoṣa* of Rājaśekhara Sūri it is definitely stated that Harihara was a descendant of Śrīharṣa, who was a native of Bengal. Vidyāpati categorically states in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* that the poet was a native of Bengal and went to Benares to have his great poem examined by scholars. Vidyāpati does not claim him for his own land Mithilā nor does he make him a native of Kanauj, though he was fully aware of his connection with the court at that place. Vācaspati Miśra II, the celebrated Smārta of Mithilā, attempted to prove his scholarship in Indian logic by a bold refutation of Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* in the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*. At the end of this work Śrīharṣa is contemptuously referred to as a 'supine Gauḍa' : —

यदक्षपादस्य महामुनेर्मतं विखण्डितं पण्डितमानिनामुना ।
(उत्तान-)गौडेन तदज्ञसाधुना मयोद्धृतं पश्यत वीतमत्सराः ॥

(Benares ed., p. 171)

All this volume of evidence read along with the poet's clear statement of receiving high honours from the king of Kānyakubja, found both in the *Naiṣadha* and *Khaṇḍana*, points to only one conclusion viz. he was a native of Bengal and a resident of Benares in the dominion of the latter king. We are not aware that any of his commentators or any other writer ever stated the converse viz. that he was a native of Kānyakubja and a resident, for some time at least, of Bengal. We search in vain for the slightest reference to this important external evidence in Dr. De's learned note on Śrīharṣa. Instead we come across the usual fling at the 'Bengal genealogists' (p. 306)!

By far the largest collection of genealogical works is at present stocked in the Ms. library of the Dacca University and Dr. De is in charge of this collection. It is all the more unfortunate that he should have chosen to have a fling at genealogists, which is not only unjust and unwarranted but amounts almost to an outrage. The genealogists are unanimous that Kulinism was introduced by king Vallāla Sena and one of the very first Kulīnas of his court was Utsāha of the Mukherji family. This Utsāha is by all accounts 12th in descent from the first ancestor Śrīharṣa. In other words, this Śrīharṣa lived about 400 years before the times of king Vallāla. No genealogist has ever suggested the absolutely absurd proposition that this Śrīharṣa is identical with the author of the Naiṣadha. As a matter of fact, the genealogists never cared, to our misfortune, to record the literary achievements of the countless objects of their study. Up till now we came across only two cases of literary reference in these huge works—Kṛttivāsa is mentioned, though, only

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in three Mss., as the author of the Bengali Rāmāyaṇa and Śrīdhara Svāmin (of the Banerji family) is mentioned in several copies as the commentator of the Bhāgavata.

The facts regarding this Śrīharṣa's authorship of the *Naiṣadha* are follows. R. L. Mitra first suggested the identity in *J.A.S.B.* 1864, p. 426. But he admitted that the 'assumption was 'founded entirely upon presumptive evidence and must await future more satisfactory research for confirmation' (*ib.*, p. 327). Nevertheless the assumption found supporters among eminent writers of the time including Rāmdāsa Sen (*Vaṅgadarśana*, 1279, p. 702, cf. also *ib.*, 1281, pp. 24-5), though nobody found any evidence on the point from genealogical works. Oblivious of the chronological absurdity many lesser writers carried the assumption to the position of a fact and one of them, unfortunately, was the late Pandit Lalmohan Vidyanidhi (*Sambandhanirṇaya*, 3rd ed., p. 329 f.n. & p. 531), who quite wrongly gave out the impression that the identity is based on actual genealogical texts. We appeal to scholars of the position of Dr. De. to refrain from criticising statements without tracing them to their sources, specially when the sources are ill-digested and utterly neglected.

In a short paper contributed to *Dr. S. Varman Commemoration Volume*, Lahore, we discussed the chronological relation between Udayana and Śrīharṣa, who according to well-founded tradition was the son of a contemporary rival of Udayana. Śrīharṣa was born, therefore, about 1075 A.D. and wrote most of his works in the reign of Govindacandra of Kanauj, though he might have lived long enough to witness the reign of Jayacandra. According to an unverified statement (found in *Nyāyakoṣa*, 1893, Introd., p. 4 fn.) one Bhūdeva wrote a commentary on the Naiṣadha at the request of the king of Kānyakubja in the year युग्माष्टाङ्कैर्निरुक्ते शकनृपतिसमे (V. P. Dvivedi reads युग्माश्वाङ्कैः in the Introd. to *Nyāyavārtika*, Chowkh., 1916, p. 160). If it is taken as genuine the word 'aṅka' must be a symbol for the figure 10 instead of 9. In was then Vijayacandra, the son of Govindacandra, who must have requested a scholar of his court to write the commentary apparently in the life time of Śrīharṣa in the year 1082 Śaka (1160 A.D), a rare sort of tribute paid to the greatest poet of the century.

Besides the *Naiṣadha* and the *Khaṇḍana*,, Śrīharṣa is known to have written the following works: The *Sthairya-vicāra*, a philosophical treatise (Prakaraṇa) is mentioned at the end of canto iv of the *Naiṣadha*. It appears that the editor of the Vedanta work *Brahmavidyābharaṇam* published from Kumbakonam had access to copies of this long-lost work from which he cited in the short introduction the following important (introductory) stanza:

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श्रीहर्षकृतौ स्थैर्यविचारप्रकरणे,

तन्त्रैर्दुर्यन्त्रमन्त्रैरपि बुधजनतागाधबोधापमृत्योः
कृत्योद्यत्क्रूरधारापरुषतरमतेर्गुप्तनाम्नः शरारोः ।
चेष्टाविष्टम्भकानां प्रतिविबुधसभोत्खातजैत्रध्वजाना-
माजानज्ञानभाजां विभवमभिदधे चिद्विलासाख्यभूम्नाम् ॥

Śrīharṣa herein glorifies the powers of one Cidvilāsa, who frustrated the black acts of a Tāntrika named Gupta. Cidvilāsa was by tradition the pontiff of the Kāmakoṭi shrine of Kāñcī and his encounter with, and the subsequent conversion at his hands of, the great Khaṇḍanakāra is recorded in a work named पुण्यश्लोकमञ्जरी also cited in the same introduction (cf. खण्डंखण्डमखण्ड खण्डनकृदाद्यौद्दण्ड्यमुद्दण्डवाग् ...) The traditional date of Cidvilāsa, according to the records of the shrine, is 4268-4301 of the Kali era (1167-1200 A. D,), which is about half a century too late for Śrīharṣa. Śrīharṣa also wrote a work named *Śivaśaktisiddhi* (see canto XVIII). This book also was accessible to the above editor, who quoted the following stanza from it :—

तेनैवान्यत्रापि,

क्ष्मोणीस्त्रीमणिरत्नकाञ्चिविकचत्काञ्चीपदोद्यद्रस-
श्रीकामासनपासवासितमहासत्वोऽप्यसत्वच्यवः ।
प्रस्फूर्ज्जच्चिदचिद्वालवदुमासोमार्धचूड़ालयो-
रैक्योक्ताविह भारतीमदयतां श्रीचिद्विलासो मम ॥

Here again Cidvilāsa of the Kāmakoṭi shrine of Kāñcī is referred to in glowing terms and invoked for inspiration in the book which had for its subject the identity of Śiva and Śakti. The editor identifies this Cidvilāsa with Advaitānanda, the author of the *Brahmavidyābharaṇam*. But the identity seems to be quite unwarranted. Whether this Cidvilāsa is to be identified with Śrīharṣa's 'Guravaḥ' cited by him in *Khaṇḍana* (Chowkh. ed., p. 1316) cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge.

Among the three royal panegyrics written by Śrīharṣa, all of them unfortunately remaining undiscovered, the *Vijayaprāśasti* (mentioned at the end of canto v) was upon Vijayacandra, the son of his patron Govindacandra of Kanauj. We quote in support the gloss of one of the oldest commentators on the Naiṣadha named Śrīvatseśvara from a very old palmleaf copy (stopping at Canto XI) preserved in the V.R. Museum, Rajshahi (Ms. No. 809) : —

विजयचन्द्रस्य या प्रशस्तिः कविना कृता । तत्र राज्ञो जीवितत्वाद्वा गौरवाद्वा श्रीशब्दः प्रयुज्यते ।

At the end of each canto like Śrīharṣa himself this commentator Śrīvatsa (the full name Śrīvatseśvara is found in Canto VII) extols his father Narasiṃha who was a superior scholar—गुरुनयविदां

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ज्येष्ठः श्रेष्ठः सभासु विपश्चिताम् (Canto VIII), मीमांसाहृदयाधिदैवतमभूद्यः श्रीनृसिंहः कृती (Canto IX) &c. The affiliation to the Prabhākara school marks out the family to be old and to belong to Mithilā or Bengal. A Narasiṃha is quoted by Vācaspati Miśra II in the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* (p. 40) ; they are most probably identical. Śrīvatsa recorded the tradition that Śrīharṣa wrote both the *Naiṣadha* and the *Khaṇḍana* at the same time (एकदैव ग्रन्थद्वयं कविना कृतमिति प्रसिद्धिः—Canto VI). The *Gauḍorvīśa-kula-praśasti* (Canto VII) and the *Chindapraśasti* (Canto XVII) prove the poet's connection with two other royal courts. The Arṇavavarṇana (Canto IX) must have been a small lyric poem and not certainly a royal panegyric (cf. Śrīvatsa's note सन्दष्टं सन्दर्भीकृतं ग्रन्थितमिति यावत् अर्णवस्य वर्णनं येन). Some of the verses from these poems presumably are preserved in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* and other anthologies. The Campū *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (Canto XXII) may have been composed in rivalry with the author of the *Viśvaprakāśa* (written in 1033 Śaka, 1111-12 A.D), who had written a 'great work' (महाग्रन्थ) named *Sāhasāṅkacarita*.

The above list of his works is by no means exhaustive. In the *Khaṇḍana*, for instance, Śrīharṣa refers to his philosophical treatise *Īśvarābhisandhi* (Chowkh. ed., pp. 107, 1041, 1132, 1322 & 1325) and the commentator Vidyāsāgara actually quoted extracts from it (*ib.*, pp. 112 & 1132). [9] A *Dvirūpakoṣa* is ascribed to him and its manuscript copies are preserved at Madras (R 1607, 1609). One of the copies (R. 1607) definitely mentions in the colophon that the author was the son of Śrīhīra and famous for his great Mahākāvya *Naiṣadha*. A line of Śrīharṣa is cited in Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on Amara :—संघातमृत्युमरको मारिर्मारी च देवतेति श्रीहर्षः (Oka's ed., p. 101). If it can be traced in the *Dvirūpakoṣa*, to which it most probably belongs, we can discover in it the poet's early attempt to enrich his vocabulary and this must have been made before 1120 A. D., for Kṣīrasvāmin is already cited by Vardhamāna in the *Gaṇa-ratnamahodadhi* (Eggeling's ed., pp. 306 and 430), written in 1139 A. D. A similar work *Amarakhaṇḍanam*, wherein two lexicons *Śabda-mīmāṃsā* and *Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā* are cited, has also been discovered and ascribed to Śrīharṣa (R. 1595). Yet another book of the same nature named *Vāṇīvilāsa* has been discovered in Madras (D.

9 We heard from MM. Gopinātha Kavirāja that he discovered a copy of Śriharṣa's *Īśvarābhisandhi* in a private collection of Mss. which he was allowed to inspect, but the owner promptly took back the collection from his hands, thus removing the chances of the discovery of this rare and important work as remote as ever.

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16498), but it seems to be a modern forgery; it mentions as one of its sources the lexicographer Keśava and the assertive phrases मया श्रीहर्ष कविना, श्रीहर्षः कविराजोहं look very suspicious. That some grammatical works were written by the poet is evident, however, from the comment of Śrīvatsa at the end of Canto X:—

किंभूतस्य तस्य न केवलं कवित्व एव अपि तु तर्केष्वपि व्याकरणेष्वपि न्यायेषु वा खण्डन-रूपग्रन्थकरणेऽसमः अतुल्यः श्रमो यस्य एवंभूतस्य ।

The problem of Śrīharṣa's place of origin has been discussed (*Hist. of Bengal*, I. p. 306) along with that of two other classical poets of India viz. Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, the author of the *Veṇīsaṃhāra* and Murāri, the author of the *Anargharāghava*. Nothing could be more unfair to Śrīharṣa. Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa was a Kashmirian: a line from his drama अस्तंभास्वान्प्रयातः सहरिपुभिरयं संह्रियन्तां बलानि (V. 36) is quoted in the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* of the Kashmirian Vāmana under the figure of speech 'Sahokti'; and another line पतितं वेत्स्यसि क्षितौ is grammatically justified by a special sūtra वेत्स्यसीति पदभङ्गात् (V. ii. 82). An illustrative verse of Mammaṭa (*Kāvyaprakāśa*, IV. 38: हा मातस्त्वरितासि कुत्र !) was, according to Māṇikyacandra's *Saṅketa* written in 1159 A. D., composed by the poet Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa lamenting the death of the mother of a king of Kashmir:— काश्मीरराजमातृमरणे भट्टनारायणकविकाव्यमिदम् (Ānandāśrama ed., p. 57. So also Jayantabhaṭṭa cited by Jhalkikar). All these point to Kashmir as the native place of the poet. The Bengal genealogists, as far we have examined their original works in manuscript, nowhere stated the poet's identity with the ancestor of the Banerjis. Some recent writers proposed the identity drawing upon their imagination or upon materials entirely fabricated.

The author of the *Anargharāghava* was of Maudgalya gotra and his identity with the ancestor of a branch of the 'Pāścātya Vaidika' families of Bengal belonging to the same *gotra* must have been fabricated by some clever but unscrupulous scion of the family long ago and widely circulated among them from a false sense of domestic patriotism. Even a casual reference to the actual genealogical table of the family will prove the absurdity of the identity. Murāri Bhaṭṭa, the first ancestor of the above mentioned Maudgalya family claiming to be 'Ṛgvedī', was only *seventh* in ascent from the greatest worthy of the family Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, the celebrated commentator of Raghunandana, who lived early in the 18th century (*vide* Table printed in *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Vol. I, part II, p. 181). This Murāri lived, therefore, early in the 16th century A. D. and was, according to a well-founded tradition in the family, an associate of Gadādhara, the ancestor of the Vaśiṣṭha family (*ib.*, p. 180). The poet Murāri

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and the Mīmāṃsaka Murāri Miśra (cited by Gaṅgeśa) both preceded him by many centuries. The wrong identity, however, was already circulated when Ward wrote in 1817. In his account of the sage Mudgala he writes (*vide The Hindoos*, London, 1822, vol. II, p. 11) 'One of these descendants Mooraree-mishru, who died about two hundred and fifty years ago, is famed as a poet: and to him are attributed a comment on a work of Shavuru, one of the Meemangsha writers; and an epic poem founded on the story of the Ramayunu.' It should be noted that Ward quite correctly stated the date of the first ancestor of the above family. Whether the poet Murāri belonged to Bengal remains an open question. His mention of Campā as the capital of Gauḍa is a good pointer in the matter (cf. *Hist. of Bengal*, I, pp. 13, 31) and more relevant than his mention of Māhiṣmatī (*ib.* p. 306 f.n.)

In conclusion we have to confess that much remains yet to be said in almost every branch of literature to complete the picture of Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit literature during the period under review. Bengal developed a separate school of Pāṇini, an account of which will be found in the Introduction (pp. 1-23) to the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* &c. of Puruṣottamadeva just (1946) published from Rajshahi. Her contribution to the Vaidyaka literature is varied and spectacular, and we expect to publish the results of our latest researches on the subject in the near future.

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MISCELLANY

Śrīvatsācārya, a long-forgotten Naiyāyika

Śrīvatsa is at present almost unknown in the history of Indian philosophy. The only reference to a scholar of this name is to be found in a commentary on the *Nyāyakandalī* (of Śridhara) by the Jaina scholar Rājaśekhara. He mentioned at the beginning of this commentary that there were four commentaries on the *Praśastapāda-bhāṣya*, the first three being (in the chronological order) the *Tīkā-vatī*, the *Kandalī* and the *Kiraṇāvalī*. The fourth and the last one was the '*Līlāvatī*' by one Śrīvatsācārya:—तत्रापि तु लक्ष्मावतीविख्याता श्रीवत्साचार्यविरचिता ववन्ध। (*vide* Peterson's *Report* 1887, p. 273. Also *Praśastapāda-bhāṣyam with Kandalī*, Vizianagram Ed., 1895 Introd., pp. [illegible]). As no such work of Śrīvatsa is ever known it was commonly believed that the Jaina writer was carelessly referring here to Suvallabha's *Nyāyalīlāvatī*, though the latter is an independant treatise and not a commentary on the *Praśastapādabhāṣya*.

Śrīvatsa, however, is not altogether a fictitious name. He has been cited by name by the great Udayanācārya, who was most probably his pupil. We have traced the following important passage in Udayana's *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-parishuddhi*, a fragment of which (containing 26 folios in all, written in old Bengali script, covering part of chs. III and IV) is in our possession.

1. As Ms. copies of the *Parishuddhi* are very rare we give below a short description of the copy. It is a paper Ms. measuring 10½ × 4 inches.

There are 15-17 lines in each page. It begins with Ch. III as follows:

ॐ नमः श्रीकृष्णाय ॥

विद्यासन्ध्योद्यतोद्रेकादविद्याजनोच्छ्रये ।
यदुदेति नमस्तस्मै कस्मैचिदहिंशतांस्पदे ॥

द्वितीये प्रमाणानि परीक्षितानि इहेदानीं कारणव्यपदेशपदं परीक्ष्यते ।

Two colophons have been traced:

इति श्रीमदुदयनकृतौ तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धौ तृतीयस्याद्यमाह्निकं ॥

इत्याचार्यश्रीमदु...चतुर्थस्याद्यमाह्निकं ॥

The marginal description is 'नृनि' or 'ननि', no standard nor Nibandha, by which name the work was universally known. The Ms. reading is therefore incorrect. The front page of the first leaf is blank [illegible] in a later hand 'निबन्धकृष्णस्य'. This is [illegible] scholar, commented on it.

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एवं पञ्चभिः प्रकरणैरात्मा परीक्षितः। शरीरमिदानीं परीक्ष्यते, अत्र श्रीवत्सः— नन्वात्मपरीक्षारूपैकार्थतया मिथः साकांक्षतायां एकवाक्यतया च कथं नामोभिरेकमाह्निकमिति, उच्यते, शरीरादिप्रकरणानामारम्भणीयानां तृतीयाध्यायानुप्रवेशस्य प्रागेव समर्थितत्वात् आह्निकान्तर्भूतानाञ्च तद्व्याघातात् स्वरूपतश्चोपसंग्राहकस्योपाधेरभावात् द्वितीयाह्निकोपाधिना चानुपसंग्रहात् पारिशेष्यात् प्रथमोपाधिनैव क्रोडीकरणम्। न चात्मपरीक्षारूप उपाधिस्तथा भवितुमर्हतीति नासावाह्निकोपाधिः किन्तु पूर्वोक्त एव। तत् किमेषां प्रकरणानामात्मपरीक्षा नार्थो न वा विवक्षितः। नन्वर्थोपि विवक्षितोपि नाह्निकोपाधिरिति ब्रूमः। प्रधानतया हि यो यस्यार्थः स तत्रोपाधिरिह विवक्षितो न तु प्रसङ्गत उपोद्घाततः प्रपञ्चतो वा। इह च प्राधान्यादात्मपरीक्षा प्रथमप्रकरणार्थ एव। दर्शनस्पर्शनाभ्यामेकार्थग्रहणादित्यनेन हि (३।१।१) व्यवस्थितविषयेभ्य इन्द्रियेभ्योऽव्यवस्थितविषयमात्मानं साधयता शरीरादिभ्योपि व्यतिरेकः साधित एव, केवलं शिष्यबुद्धेर्विषदीभावाय उत्तरत्र प्रपञ्च्यते। तस्माद्यथोक्तमेव न्याय्यमिति। एतेनान्यत्रापीन्द्रियद्वैतादिप्रकरणेषु सङ्गतिरनुसन्धेयेति॥ (fol. 7b, under III. i. 27 ; cf. *Tātparyaṭīkā*, Vizia. Ed., p. 363)

The topic of consistent relation between the different Prakaraṇas forming a chapter, dealt with here, marks a distinct improvenent upon Vācaspati's gloss, where it is not touched upon. Udayana reproduces the arguments of Śrīvatsa here with approval. It may be presumed, therefore, that Śrīvatsa, next to Vācaspati, was a superior Nyāya scholar of the time and a person of great veneration for Udayana. Under this context the following verse, found at the beginning of Ch. II of Udayana's *Pariśuddhi*, requires to be newly interpreted. (*Tanjore Cat.*, XI, p. 4484),

संशोध्य दर्शितरसामनुकूपरूप-टीकाकृतः प्रथम एव गिरो गभीराः।
तात्पर्यतो यदधुना पुनरुद्यमो नः श्रीवत्सवत्सलतयैव तया तु कापि॥

The faulty reading of the verse unfortunately makes no consistent sense. There cannot be any doubt, however, that the word Śrīvatsa in the last line refers to the above mentioned scholar and not to the god Viṣṇu. For, in the previous verse the god Śiva has already been invoked by Udayana and he cannot in the same breath invoke the graces of another 'affectionate' god in the task before him. The verse thus contains an important reference to his own teacher Śrīvatsa and may be emended as follows :—

संशोध्य दर्शितरसा अनुकूलरूपं टीकाकृतः प्रथम एव गिरो गभीराः।
तात्पर्यतो यदधुना पुनरुद्यमो नः श्रीवत्स ! वत्सल ! तवैव कृपा तु कापि॥

It means 'Already in the first (chapter) the charms of the profound words of Vācaspati (who is invariably referred to by Udayana as the Ṭīkākāra) have been displayed (by us) after favourable clarification.

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Now that we are again exerting to explain (his words), it is all due to your kindness, oh! affectionate Śrīvatsa.'

Śrīvatsa coming between Vācaspati and Udayana makes the interval of time between the latter two wider. A careful perusal of Udayana's Nibandha makes it almost certain that Vācaspati long preceded Udayana, who did not apparently see him alive. If Vācaspati wrote in 898 (Śaka) i. e. 976 A. D. Udayana could not have written his works before 1050 A. D. (vide *Ganganatha Jha, Research Institute Journal*, II, pp. 349-56). Śrīvatsa may be placed within 1000-50 A. D. That Udayana's period of activity could not be earlier than the last half of the 11th century is also proved by the well-founded tradition that he had academic contests with Śrīhīra, the father of Śrīharṣa and Śrīharṣa belongs to the 12th century by all reliable evidence. Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita, one of the earliest and most learned commentators on the Naiṣadha mentioned the tradition (*Des. Cat.* of *Govt. Mss., B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XIII, pt. I, pp. 480-81), as well as Bhagīratha, another commentator on the Naiṣadha (Introd. to *Vaiśeṣikadarśana with Bhāṣya and Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 26).

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Antiquity of the Image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī

In a note entitled 'A new light on Durgotsava' published in a back number of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (vol. XXI, p. 220) it is stated that the oldest image of Durgā which has been found at Bhumara in Central India is assigned to the 6th century A.D. But I may draw the attention of scholars to the fact that images of Mahiṣāsuramardiṇī, of Durgā with a lion as her vehicle, and of some other goddesses assignable to the Kushan and the early Gupta period i.e. 2nd to 4th century A.D. are found in excavations at old sites in Mathurā and preserved in the Mathurā Museum, as I have shown in my paper entitled 'Some Brahmanical sculptures in the Mahiṣāsuramardiṇī images' assignable to the early period carries the antiquity of the cult to a till earlier period at least to the beginning of the Christian era if not to one or two centuries earlier than that.

The popularity of the Śaiva cult in the Kushan period is already well known. Figures of Śiva with two arms and four arms holding a *triśūla* and with his vehicle the bull, are seen on the Kushan coins. The Mathurā stone inscription of G.S. 61 (380 A.D.) of the time of Candragupta II gives a long line of succession of Śaiva preceptors and thus leads us to believe that the Bhairava sect of Śaivism existed even so early as the Kushan times. Śiva temples must have existed even before that.

Images not only of Śaivite gods and goddesses, but those of other Hindu gods and goddesses must have been made on a large scale in

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the Kushan period as is seen from the figures of the Sun god, moon god, wind god, fire god and of Lakṣmī holding or standing on lotus flower are seen on the coins of the Kushan rulers, and from the stone images of different gods and goddesses found at Mathurā.

The presence of the figures of Brahmanical gods on Kushan coins and the find of a number of images of Brahmanical gods and sculptures, small and large, at Mathurā, assignable to the Kushan period carries back the antiquity of Brahmanical iconography to a much earlier period. It is well known that the figure of a three-headed deity,—of Śiva or Kārtikeya—and of the goddess Lakṣmī are seen on some tribal coins, specially from Mathurā, which can be assigned to two or three centuries before the Christian era.

We know from the Buddhist scriptures that in the pre-Aśokan days, i.e. in the fourth or third century B.C. the Buddha had begun to be deified. He had come to be looked upon as the highest god, superior to the Brahmanical gods. It seems, therefore, that Brahmanical iconography had been regularly developed in those days. The edicts of Aśoka also lead us to believe in the same thing. It would thus seem that the worship of Brahmanical gods goes back to many centuries before Christian era, at least to the 6th century B.C. Contact of the Greeks, who had also a well developed iconography, seems to have made the Indians to develop their iconography, not only Brahmanical, but Buddhist and Jain also, on a large scale in the Kushan period.

The antiquity of the image of Mahiṣāsuramardiṇī will thus go back at least to the first century A.D. if not to an earlier period.

D. B. DISKALKAR

Siraj-ud-daulah and the English before 1756*

Early in May 1752 Nawab Alivardi declared Siraj-ud-daulah, in whom he lived and moved and had his being, as his successor.[1] Soon during his stay at Hugli Siraj-ud-daulah "was visited by the French and Dutch Governors with a present equivalent to his dignity."[2] As instructed by the *faujdar* of Hugli and by Khawajah Wajid, one of the principal merchants of Bengal who resided at Hugli, the Council in Calcutta "judged it highly necessary to pay the Nabob (Nawab) the compliment required."[3] Accordingly, the President, Mr. Roger Drake, accompanied by Messrs Cruttenden and Becher and the Commandant, visited Siraj-ud-daulah at Hugli in the beginning of the third week of September, 1752. They were received there, as the Council in

* Read at the Annamalai Session of the Indian History Congress.

1 Bengal Letter to Court, dated 18th September, 1752, para 81.

2 *Ibid.*, para 111.

3 *Ibid.*

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Calcutta held, "with the utmost Politeness and Distinction far superior than was paid the French or Dutch."[4]

Highly gratified at this incident, the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors: "* * * we flatter ourselves that the expense we have been at on this occasion has procured you great Favour and will be the means of your Honours business being conducted without any interruption from the Government for some time to come and we beg leave to offer our sentiments that a greater intimacy well timed with the heads of the Government (not before practised) when opportunity offers either here or at the head Subordinates may be greatly conducive to your Honours Interest at a small expense for it is chiefly those about the Nabob who are in Power that urge Circumstances to our Disadvantage and stir up his Resentment and when any large sum is paid they receive the greater share."[5]

Appreciating this excellent conduct of Siraj-ud-daulah, the Court of Directors observed in their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 23rd January, 1754: "It gives us great satisfaction to observe that Nabob Sarajee Doula (Siraj-ud-daulah) whom Alliverde Cawn (Alivardi Khan) appointed to be his successor received our President and the other Gentlemen deputed by the Board to compliment him upon the occasion with such marks of Distinction and we hope you will lose no opportunity of improving the favourable opinion he seems to entertain of the English Nation. A present could not be avoided and they not giving a handsome one would have been an ill-timed piece of Frugality and therefore we approve of what you have done. We entirely agree with you that an intimacy should be kept up with the Heads of the Government * * * *." In another letter, dated the 29th November, 1754, the Court significantly noted that the 'Country Government (Nawab's government) had "always shown more preferable marks of favour to the English than to the other European Nations."

In the course of three years, however, as is well known, the relationship between Siraj-ud-daulah and the English East India Company turned to be bitter to the utmost degree. How to account for this transformation? Was it due to Siraj-ud-daulah's viciousness and special grudge against the English, as has been very often assertd? Sober history would not consider such an interpretation of the causes of the mighty revolution of 1757 in Bengal to be well warranted. It should try to understand its genesis with reference to the working of some new forces in the history of Bengal, which being successfully controlled by Alivardi proved too strong for his successor and collided with the latter's authority as the Nawab of Bengal. A dispassionate study on this point is still due.

KALIKINKAR DATTA

4 *Ibid.*, para 112. 5 *Ibid.*

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REVIEWS

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, vol. II, 1858-1945, by A. C. Banerjee, Lecturer, Calcutta University. Calcutta, 1946.

The first volume of this comprehensive work, dealing with the period 1757-1858, was published less than a year ago. Our painstaking and industrious author has now succeeded in bringing out the second volume in spite of scarcity of paper and difficulty of printing. This volume is even more comprehensive and interesting than its predecessor. Mr. Banerjee has collected an amazing variety of documents—statutes, speeches, despatches, treaties, *Sanads*, agreements, Congress and Muslim League resolutions, even Press Conference reports. With rare discrimination and skill he has given us just those materials which are indispensable for the understanding of constitutional developments since the Mutiny. The previous collections of documents—the volumes edited by Keith and P. Mukherjee—confined their attention to official documents alone; they did not even refer to the growth of the Nationalist Movement, although the political reforms conceded by the British Government cannot be understood without constant reference to the activities and demands of the Congress. Mr. Banerjee has liberally quoted extracts from the addresses of Congress Presidents and the resolutions of the Congress. This is a novel departure from orthodox tradition, on which he is to be congratulated. The volume contains documents relating to the Indian States, although lack of space has prevented the editor from including documents relating to the demands of the States people. The *Introduction*, though brief, is a careful commentary on the development of the constitution during the period under review. There is a valuable *Appendix* which contains miscellaneous notes on documents and also a very useful bibliography. On the whole, no student of modern Indian history or political evolution can do without Mr. Banerjee's latest work.

I. BANERJEE

THE CABINET MISSION IN INDIA. Edited by Prof. A. C. Banerjee and D. R. Basu. Calcutta, 1946.

Mahatma Gandhi says, "Whether you like the Cabinet Delegation's announcement or not, it is going to be the most momentous one in the history of India and therefore requires careful study." The volume under review is the most comprehensive collection of all published documents relating to the Cabinet Mission, from Mr. Attlee's announcement of 19th February to the rejection of the Mission's Plan by the Muslim League on July 29. It is, therefore, indispensible for all students of current politics, history and constitution. The editors and the Publisher are to be congratulated on this excellently edited and nicely printed volume.

N. K. SINHA

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. VII, nos. 1 & 2 (Jan. Feb., 1946)

K. M. MUNSHI.—*The Gūrjara Problems : The Gūrjaras Baisuran.* The hill of Baisuran rising above Pahalgam in Kashmir contains small settlements inhabited by people known as Gujars. They talk among themselves in a language that is reminiscent of Marwadi and Mewari. It is suggested that these people had some time migrated from territories of Rajasthan that comprised the Gūrjaradeśa and should not be taken as remnants of the race of the invading Gujars from Central Asia.

LUDWICK STERNBACH.—*India as described by Mediæval European Travellers.* References to the Jews occurring in the accounts of the European travellers show that in the mediæval ages, the sea coasts of India, Kashmir and Ceylon formed the principal dwelling places of the Jews in this part of the world.

G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*The Exact Date of the Composition of the Gṛhyāgnisāgara.* The concluding verses of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa Ārḍre's *Gṛhyāgnisāgara* record the date of the completion of the work which corresponds to the 3rd April, 1640.

A. S. GOPANI.—*"Between Varāhamihira and Kalyāṇavarma."* Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* written in the 6th century A. C. is a landmark in the domain of Astrology. Kalyāṇavarman's *Sārāvali* which is a more extensive and thorough going production in the same field came about 400 years later, indicating that the intervening period between the two works had witnessed a considerable advancement in the study of Astrology in India.

Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol.x, pt. 2

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Was Soma an Intoxicating Drink of the People?* There is no evidence pointing to soma as an intoxicating drink, or to its being ever partaken of by the people at large. Soma had nothing but a symbolic value in Vedic ritualism. It was not allowed to ferment and its drinking remained confined to gods or those who had acquired divinity through performace of good deeds.

K. MADHAVAKRISHNA SARMA.—*Anūparatnākara of Vidyānātha.* The Anup Sanskrit Library of Bikaner possesses a ms. of the *Anūparatnākara*, which is a digest of works and extracts on different topics arranged under their proper heads by Vidyānātha Sūri with his own additions. Compiled during the 17th century under the patronage of Maharaj Anup Singh, the work devotes sections to

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polity, poetics, precious stones, weapons, homesteads, horses, elephants, cows, goats, dogs etc.

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA.—*The Bālavyutpattikāriṇī of Śokkanātha.* The work described here is a commentary on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* of Vāsudeva. The commentator citing numerous works and authors, including the *Kāvyadarpaṇa* of the 17th century, could not have lived very far from our times.

V. KRISHNAMACHARYA.—*The Commentaries on the Saṃkalpasūryodaya.* This note contains a description of six commentaries on Vedāntadeśika's *Saṅkalpasūryodaya* which is an allegorical drama in 10 Acts written with the purpose of expounding the Viśiṣṭādvaita system of philosophy.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*A New Version of the Nītidviṣaṣṭikā of Sundarapāṇḍya.* A ms. of the *Nītidviṣaṣṭikā* deposited in the Adyar Library contains a good many new readings and a number of verses not found in the printed edition of this gnomic poem which is believed to have been the work of Sundarapāṇḍya, a pre-Śaṅkara thinker.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 21, 1945

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Chandonuśāsana of Jayakīrti and Ancient Kannada Metres.* Jayakīrti was a Jain scholar of the Digambara sect belonging to South India in the 11th century A. C. His *Chandonuśāsana,* a treatise on Sanskrit metres in eight chapters, devotes one chapter to the Kannada metres. The writer of the paper describes the contents of the treatise chapter by chapter and publishes a portion of the texts.

D. D. KOSAMBI.—*Some Extant Versions of Bhartṛhari's Śatakas.* Mss. of the three *Śatakas* of Bhartṛhari show considerable variations in their contents. Charts of eight different versions of the works have been constituted here on the basis of a large number of mss. collected from different parts of the country.

Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, vol. VI, pt. 2 (July-Dec. 1945)

RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Cākṣuṣīyam.* Here in the "further notes" on the *Cākṣuṣīya,* a small work on polity described in a previous issue of the Journal, important words and expressions occurring in the 3rd and 4th Paṭalas of the work are discussed sūtra by sūtra.

S. P. L. NARASIMHASWAMI.—*Purāṇasaṃhitā.* The author of the article believes that there was once a *Purāṇasaṃhitā,* recounting the history of India from the earliest times. The contents of that *Saṃhitā* are now found 'embedded' in the early Purāṇas, but the original has disappeared as a separate work, which the author claims to have restored.

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K. DAKSHINAMURTHY.— मण्डनसुरेशयोर्भेदाभेदविचारः (Discussion on the identity or otherwise of Maṇḍana and Sureśa) Evidence from literature is adduced to show that Maṇḍanamiśra is different from Sureśvara, the famous disciple of Śaṅkarācārya.

N.SUBRAHMANIA SASTRI.—*Padārthasaṃgraha*. The *Padārthasaṃgraha*, which is edited for the first time here, is a treatise dealing with categories that constitute 'the objective contents of right knowledge' according to the Prabhākara School of Mīmāṃsā.

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Māruta-maṇḍana, of Vanamālin and its date

The only MS of a work on Vedānta called the *Mārutamaṇḍana* by Vanamālin[1] recorded by Aufrecht[2] is "Bhr 718" which is identical with *MS No. 718 of 1882-83* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It consists of 63 folios, of which folio 1 is unfortunately missing since its acquisition. Folio 2 begins:—

—ह्मादिपदलक्षणस्य गङ्गापदलक्ष्यतीरस्य गङ्गात्ववदसत्यत्वान्नह्मात्वा --

The Ms. ends as follows:

"भुक्त्वा श्यामाकमुष्टिं वियदग्रदमयद्दीनबंधुर्द्विजातेः
दत्त्वा भूतीः पराऽस्त्राधृतकर इति मा देहि मां पद्मया यः ।
द्रौपद्याः शाकलेशा त्रिभुवनमयुधज्वलां(?)दुः प्रसाद्यः
स्थित्वांतकारिताद्वै मम यदुवरो ग्रंथतः प्रोयतां सः ॥१॥
श्रीगोविन्दविहारभूषितभुवो वृंदावनात्प्रागुदिशि
क्रोशानां त्रिशुगे पुरे श्रु(?)तिभरद्वाजात्वमाये द्विजाः ।
श्रीसन्नाहमुचो वसंति वनमाली तत्कुले(भू)द्वधः
ग्रंथो मारुतमंडनोस्ति परिपूर्णस्तत्कृतोविघ्नतः ॥२॥
विघ्नोदयादिकर्तारं भर्तारं हि श्रियः सताम् ।
भवसंतापहंतारं वंदे श्रीहयकंधरम् ॥३॥
भगवर्तोघ्रिकंजस्य श्रीगोपालरय रेणवः ।
क्रियासु वैभवं वाचामघराशेश्च शोधनं ॥४॥

संवत् १७४१ समास्तु शुभमत् ॥ समुती फागुन वद्दी वजुदमी स रामगतितो हारी । श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॥ रामा ताता"

The above extract, though incorrect in many places, gives us the following particulars about the author and his work:—

(1) In verse 1 of the extract the author bows to god यदुवर (कृष्ण)

1. *CC., I, 549*—"वनमालिन्—चण्डमारुत (*CC., I, 176—Rice 142* and *Govt. Ori. MS. Library Madras, 26*)—मारुतमण्डन (*CC., I, 452, Bhr. 718*).

2. *CC., I, 452*—"मारुतमण्डन, Vedānta, by Vanamālin, *Bhr. 718*".

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(2) In *verse 2* it is stated that वनमाली is the author of this work called मारुतमण्डन । वनमाली was born of a family of Brahmins of the *Bharadvāja Gotra* [भरद्वाजात्वमा is evidently a misreading for भरद्वाजान्वया (ये द्विजाः)]. This family lived at a place called त्रिशुगपुर (?) situated to the east of वृन्दावन[1], adorned by the temple of गोविन्द.

(3) In *verse 3* the author bows to god Gaṇeśa (हयकंधर).

(4) In *verse 4* he invokes the blessings of god गोपाल.

(5) The date of the MS is *Saṁvat 1741 = A.D. 1685* [month of *Phālguna, Vadya* (Śukla) *Pakṣa*].

I note below the references to authors and works etc. as they are found in the MS before me :—

(1) आनंदतीर्थ, 2,
(2) नारायण संहिता, 2
(3) बृहत्संहिता, 2
(4) महासंहिता, 2
(5) नारायणतंत्र, 2
(6) ब्रह्मतंत्र, 2
(7) पुरुषोत्तमतंत्र, 2
(8) मायावैभव, 2
(9) ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त, 2
(10) ब्रह्मतर्क, 2
(11) भविष्यत्, 2
(12) भारततात्पर्यनिर्णय, 2
(13) अस्मदाचार्येण, 3, 4,
(11) गौडपादशंकरादेः, 3
(12) पाद्मवचन, 3
(13) कौर्मे, 3

(14) "मध्वनामा यतिरसौ सच्छास्त्राणि करिष्यति ।
निरसिष्यति पाखण्डान् दुःशास्त्राणि महामतिः ॥" (Fol. 3)

(15) स्कंदे, 3
(16) शंकरभाष्ये, 3
(17) रामानुजभाष्ये, 3
(18) श्रीकंठभाष्ये, 3
(19) महाभारत, 4
(20) श्रीमध्वाचार्याणां, 4

(21) ब्राह्मे (क्षेत्रकांडे वेंकटमाहात्म्ये तृतीयेध्याये)

(21) तात्पर्यचंद्रिका, 4, 5 (चंद्रिकायां), 23 (चंद्रिकादौ),

(22) कालिदासादेः, 4

Folio 5 —"तथाहि । वेदांता प्रवदंति नेतिकरणं विष्णुं कुतो वैरिदं
क्षेपिष्टादि गिरामिव प्रथमतस्ते वो नु वाहायत ।
वेदांता अथवा जपाय विषदून्मन्त्रा यथा केवलं
धर्मादे प्रमितिर्भवेत्प्रथमतः कांडात्तवा(?)ज्ञातवित ॥"

1. वनमाली was a champion of Madhva philosophy. As he hailed from the neighbourhood of Vrndāvana, the centre of Kṛṣṇa worship in the United Provinces, it seems that Madhvaism had spread far and wide from its original home in South India at the time of Vanamālin's literary career, say, between A. D. 1575 and 1650.

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(22) भद्रमते, 5

(23) प्रभाकरमते, 5

(24) अनुव्याख्याने, 5, 7,

Folio 6 —"तथाहि । तर्कशार्पगिरां कथंचिदपि नः प्रामाण्यमुक्तं नहि

न्यायान् कांचन सोर्यपन् भवति चांगं ब्रह्ममीमांसने ।
सिद्धांत दूनित द्वियोजनकता वेदांतवाचा ततो
वृत्तं न प्रकृते विरोध्य विदिताशज्ञापने मंदधीः ॥"

Folio 6 —"तथाहि । बोध्यं स्याद्यदि निर्गुणश्रुतिगणैः...गृह्यतः ॥"

Folio 7 —"आह । अथोपोस्त्वमिदं कुतः ..शास्त्रं विचार्यं क्वचित् ॥१२॥"

"यतेन शिष्यस्य...शास्त्रवेद्यं कथं स्यात् ॥"

(25) न्यायामृते, 7

Folio 8 —"शास्त्रानारंभणे नागुणचिति...एकता स्यान्नजावे ॥१४॥"

(26) न्यायसुधायां, 8, 11 (सुधायां), 12, 15, 23, 24, 26, 27, 52,

Folio 10 —"अमितमहिमविष्णोरिच्छया...भ्युपेतः परेशः ॥१६॥"

Folio 11 —"अभेदो यत्र सिद्धो हि...स्वभावः सविशेषकः ॥१७॥"

Folio 12 —"स्वोये पूर्णसुखे हरौ गुणनिधौ...योगो हि वृत्तेः पुरा ॥१८॥"

—"अपि च नयमिमं मन्यते...प्रलपसि कथमित्थं पूर्वपक्षे कुबुद्धे ॥१९॥"

Folio 15 —"जोवभिन्नेश्वरे माने...नारभ्यं मननं ततः ॥२०॥"

—"प्रथम नयनिरासे कारणं...सर्वथोत्पत्ति शिष्टा ॥२१॥"

Folio 16 —"अभिजगुणनिकेते...ब्रह्मवाचा विधातुम् ॥२२॥"

Folio 17 —"अभिदधति सधर्म्मं...केन नैर्गुण्यवाचां ॥२३॥"

—दानवाक्य...प्रणवाद्याश्च वाक्यतः ॥२४॥"

(27) गारुडोक्ति, 17, 36,

Folio 18 —"आनंदानां वदंत्यामिततरतमतां...ज्योतिरप्यस्तु गुप्तं ॥२५॥"

Folio 19 —"अनेकत्वैकत्वे...वद कथं ही शिजरिवै ॥२६॥"

—"ज्ञाज्ञेत्यादि गिरो वदंति...नैव प्रवेष्टुं क्षमः ॥२७॥"

Folio 20 —"धर्मिग्राहकमानेन...अपहर्तुं न शक्यते ॥२८॥"

Folio 22 —क्षेत्रोत्पन्नधने...पुरानोत्तरम् ॥२८॥"

(28) भामत्यां, 24, 26,

(24) तत्वप्रकाशिकायां, 24,

(25) भाष्यकृता, 24,

Folio 26 —"दुःखादि स्वामिता...त्वादृशा द्वेषदुष्टाः ॥३०॥"

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Folio 28 —"जिज्ञासानयगोचरस्तनुभृतो...प्रसंगात तथा ॥३७॥"

Folio 30 —"अन्योन्यं विरसा गुणा...रल्पज्ञतायां स्फुटं ॥"

—"विरुद्धे जेनाग्रे...संभवति नो ॥३६॥"

Folio 31 —"प्राबल्यादिनि गद्यते कृतगिरां...श्रुतिशिखाध्यक्षानुमानैरुजा ॥४१॥"

(26) कौमारिलानां—33

(27) तंत्ररत्ने, 34,

(28) वरदराजीये, 34 (शब्दांतराधिकरणे, संख्याधिकरणे)

Folio 36 —"मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहाम् ।

वनमालिकृतं भाति जिज्ञासान्यायवर्णनम् ॥३॥"

Folio 37 —"रूद्याब्रह्मणि शंकिते तनुधरे...मूलाद्यभिन्ने हरौ ॥"

—"ब्रह्माभेदगिरः क्वचित्तनुभृतो...न कोप्येककः ॥४७॥"

Folio 39 "योगालिंगितरूढितो वदति हि...मुख्यार्थकत्वं भवेत

Folio 42 —"मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहां ।

वनमालिकृतं भाति जन्मादिन्यायवर्णनं ॥३॥

—"सर्वेषां वव(?)सीं समन्वयविधे—श्रौत्यो गिरः सर्वथा ॥"

Folio 43 —"सदेकंह्ये(?)वासी...आवर्जनगिरां ॥"

Folio 44 —"किंच स्रष्टुमपोश्वरस्य...हरेस्याद्यथा ॥"

—"विकल्पोनुष्ठाने...वचस्ते गतभवा ॥"

Folio 45 —"मानं नैवास्तिभेदे...न्यायपीडा च नास्ति ॥"

Folio 46 —"मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहां ।

वनमालिकृतं भाति शास्त्रयोनिनिरूपणं ॥"

—"अभिदधति गिरो या...नैवास्तिमानं मुकुंदात् ॥"

Folio 47 "—दृष्टो विश्वनियामको...सिद्धिर्न वै वस्तुतः ॥"

Folio 48 "—नृहरिहरविधीनां...यो विशेषात्प्रवृत्तः ॥"

(29) नारायणीयाख्यान, 48

(30) हरिवंश, 50

Folio 50 —"मंडने माध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहां ।

वनमालिकृतं भाति समन्वयनिरूपणं ॥"

Folio 51 —"श्रुत्वानंत गुणं हरिं...ब्रह्मत्वमीशानुगाः ॥"

—"ध्यानेनाधिगमायवश्रुतिचय...व्यर्था भावेपुस्तदा ॥"

Folio 52 —"मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहां ।

वनमालिकृतं भाति हीक्षतिन्यायवर्णनं ॥

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पंचन्यायाः समीचीनं वर्णिता वनमालिना ।
मायावादिमुखं भंक्त्वा मध्यतंत्रस्य मंडने ॥
ग्रंथस्य चावशिष्टस्य तात्पर्यं समासेन निरूप्यते ॥"

(31) "उक्तहि मनोरमायां अश्वक इत्यत्राश्वशब्दो अश्व वर्तते कन्प्रत्ययस्तु प्रतिकृतिरूपे सदृशे इत्येके । अन्ये तु गौर्वाहीक इतिवत् अश्वशब्दः etc." (Folio 57)

(32) माघकाव्ये, 57

(33) भगवत्पादैः, 58

(34) वाशिष्ठरामायणे, 61 (ऐंदवोपाख्याने),

(35) स्मृतेः, 62 (ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति)—There are some other verses of the *Gītā* quoted in the work.

The foregoing analysis of the MS of मारुतमंडन before us enables us to make the following observations :—

(1) The work मारुतमंडन is avowedly composed in defence of the Madhva doctrine by its author वनमालिन् as expressly stated in the oft-repeated verse "मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य etc." on folios 36, 42, 46, 50, 52.

(2) The later limit to the date of मारुतमंडन is *A. D. 1685* in which year the present MS of this work was copied.

(3) The reference to मनोरमा on folio 57 (No 31 in the above list) needs to be identified. If it is identified with the प्रौढमनोरमा of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (between A. D. 1560 and 1620) we may easily fix up वनमालिन् *between say A. D. 1600 and 1685.*

(4) The न्यायामृत[1] mentioned on folio 7 (No. 25 of the list of references) is possibly identical with the न्यायामृत of व्यासतीर्थ of the Madhva School ; he died in *A. D. 1533* (vide p. 753 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937). Prof. B. N. K. Sarma assigns व्यासतीर्थ to the period *A. D. 1478-1539 (N I A*, II, p. 659).

(5) The न्यायसुधा or सुधा quoted several times in the work (No. 26 of the list) is possibly identical with the न्यायसुधा (a commentary on the अनुव्याख्यान of आनंदतीर्थ) by जयतीर्थ who flourished *between A. D. 1366 and 1389* (see p. 394 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश).

1. Vide p. 172 of *Adyar Sanskrit MSS Cata.*, Part II (1928)—"न्यायामृत-मागन्थम् वनमालिकृत—26 D 26 ग्र 86 अस (शिथिलम्)"—Perhaps this may be a work of the author of मारुतमण्डन

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(6) The तात्पर्यचन्द्रिका (No. 21 of the list) is possibly identical with the तात्पर्यचन्द्रिका of व्यासतीर्थ, which is a commentary on the तत्त्वप्रकाशिका of जयतीर्थ. This तत्त्वप्रकाशिका (No. 24 of the list) is a commentary on the ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य of आनन्दतीर्थ.

(7) Owing to the loss of the 1st folio of the MS of the मारुतमण्डन I am unable to say what information it contained about the author and his work. In my analysis of the MS I have indicated several verses quoted by Vanamālin during the course of his polemical discussion. Though incorrectly written, these verses are good composition but I cannot say if they are Vanamālin's own composition or his teacher's. On folios 3 and 4 he refers to his teacher as "अस्मदाचार्य", who needs to be identified. Perhaps the first folio now missing in our MS may have contained a reference to this आचार्य.

(8) I have reserved for another paper a study of the other works of our Vanamālin, some MSS of which have been traced by me in the Govt. MSS library at the B. O. R. Institute. In three[1] of these works Vanamālin refers to his teacher as मरुत् in the expressions "आचार्यान् श्रीमरुन्मुख्यान्" "मरुतमाचार्य" and मरुदंश". Perhaps the name "मारुतमण्डन" of the present work may contain a reference to this teacher मरुत्.

In view of the data collected above I am inclined to assign वनमालिन्, the author of the मारुतमण्डन to the period, *A. D. 1575-1650.*

P. K. Gode

1. These works are:—(1) अद्वैतसिद्धिखण्डन, (2) श्रुतिसिद्धान्तदीपिका (MS dated *A. D. 1692*) and (3) भगवद्गीता टीका.

The न्यायामृत सौगन्ध्यम् (Adyar MS) may be our author's work. The Adyar MS of the work needs to be examined with a view to prove this suggestion

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The new Kailān plate of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta

Dr. D. C. Sarkar of the Calcutta University has published an account of this plate in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratvarṣa* for *Vaiśākha* of the current year (1353 B.S.), supported by relevant extracts from its reading. The thanks of all scholars interested in archæology must go to Dr. Sarkar for successfully deciphering this difficult plate and publishing details from it, so important for the history of Eastern India. Dr. Sarkar has invited assistance towards clearing up geographiical and other difficulties. The following notes may be considered as attempts in that direction.

The find-place Kailān

The find-place Kailān is not in the Sadar Thana of the Tippera district, as stated by Dr. Sarkar. It is under the Chāndinā Thana and about ten miles direct south of Chāndinā, alias Barkāmta.

River Kṣīrodā and Deva-parvata, the capital of the Rātas

A dried-up river course, locally known as the Kṣīra or the Kṣīrodā is still traceable as branching off from the Gomatī river, on which the town of Comilla stands, just west of the town. It flows by the eastern side of the Maynāmatī Hills, skirts its southern end near the Chaṇḍi-muḍā peak, where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hill. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Maynāmatī Hills like a moat and then runs south-west to fall into the Dākātiā river. (Vide, "Maynāmatir Gān", by Sj. Baikuntha Nath Datta: The *Pratibhā*: Journal of the Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat. Phāl-guna, 1319 B.S. p. 618. Also, *Final Report on the Survey and Settle-ment operations in the Tippera district* by W. H. Thomson, 1920. Bengal Secretariat Book Depot). It is stated in the plate that the capital Deva-parvata from which the plate was issued, was surrounded by the Kṣīrodā river. There is no doubt therefore, that the southern part of the Maynāmatī-Lālmai Hill is meant. This picturesque hill-range, barely 100 feet high in places, is full of antiquities, which now are found to go to the Gupta times, and the capital of the Rātas appears to have been situated on one of the plateaus on the southern side. Paṭṭikerā, a town famous in the history of the 10th-11th centuries A.D. was founded during later times at a point about the middle of the range, marked, till lately by ruins called Koṭbāḍī. These ruins were ruthlessly spoliated by the military contractors in search of bricks, and the antiquities thus discovered have been described and illus-trated by Mr. Ramachandran in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*.

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Date of Lokanātha and the Rātas.

In the Tippera plate of Lokanātha (*E.I.*, XV. p. 301 ff.), he is stated to have come into violent conflict with a king named Jīvadhāraṇa, who, from the present plate is proved to have been the father of Śrī-Dhāraṇa-Rāta. Thus Lokanātha and Jīvadhāraṇa were contemporaries and their sons Lakṣmīnātha and Śrīdhāraṇa similarly were contemporaries. We are all speculating on the date of Lokanātha for a long time without success, and it is no wonder, Dr. Sarkar has also succeeded no better. But fortunately, I have succeded in discovering the real date of Lokanātha.

The date portion of the Tippera grant was read as follows by Dr. R. G. Basak :—

dhaṅe catuścatvāriṅśat saṃvatsare.

Dr. Sarkar has correctly made out the first letters as *adhiṅe*. If he had cared to look into the illustration of the plate published with Dr. Basak's article (*EI.*, XV), a little more closely, I am sure, he would have been able to read *śatādhiṅe*, which is fairly clear. The first decipherer of an obscure plate soon gets tired by his repeated efforts, and this is probably the reason why Dr. Basak missed this reading. If the reading is *śatādhiṅe*, it must be preceded by either *eka, dvi* or *tri*. On close scrutiny I was able to ascertain what this preceding portion is and Dr. Basak confirmed it. In fact, the upper portion of the letter is fortunately preserved and the reading

avi-śatādhiṅe catuścatvāriṅśat saṃvatsare

can be made out with confidence. This date 244 must be referred to the Gupta era. There need, therefore, be no further doubt regarding the date of Lokanātha and Jīva-dhāraṇa. They belong to the middle of the sixth and not the seventh century.

The kingdoms of Lokanātha and the Rātas

Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta states in more than one place that he had inherited and was king over the kingdom of Samataṭa. Dr. Sarkar states correctly that this kingdom consisted of the present Tipperā and Noakhāli districts. For the last 32 years, I have been striving to establish this identity, but some eminent Bengal scholars appear still not to have been convinced. In the recent publication of the Dacca University, *History of Bengal* vol. I, in the map of ancient Bengal appended, Samataṭa has been made to cross the mighty river Meghnā and abut into Bakarganj and Khulnā districts, quite ignoring the existence of Vaṅga in those regions from time immemorial It is gratifying to find that Dr. Sarkar has clearer conception of the ancient geography of Bengal. If Samataṭa goes away with Tippera and Noakhali, only Sylhet and Cachār are left over. From the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarmma, we know that the district of Sylhet was known during

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this period as the Candrapurī Viṣaya. Thus Lokanātha's *viṣaya* Subbuṅga must be identified with Cachār, a conclusion at which I arrived long ago from other evidences. Vide, *"Empire-builders of Assam."* vol. XXI, p. 28.

Lokanātha and the Rātas

The discovery of the date of the Tippera plate of Lokanātha has made this ascertainment easy. We know from the Baragaṅgā Rock inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarmma of Kāmarūpa that he had performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice; and a date subsequent to that event in his reign is 234 G.E. equal to 554 A.D. (*IHQ.*, 1945, p. 21). The Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarmma tells us (*JRASB.*, 1935, p. 419 ff. "Location of the land granted by the Nidhanpur plate") that the *parganā* of Pañcakhaṇḍa was granted to a large number of Brahmins by Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarmma. The prosperity of the Varmmas of Kāmarūpa had begun three generations earlier with Mahendravarmma, grandfather of Bhūtivarmma, as he was the first among the Varmmas of Kāmarūpa to perform two Horse-sacrifices in succession. Gupta power was declining in Eastern India during this period and it finally collapsed by about A.D. 551, when we find Bhūtivarmma establishing an Agrahāra in the district of Sylhet. The Gunāighar plate of Vainya Gupta of 508 A.D. by which the Gupta emperor granted land in the Tippera district, a little to the north of the Maynāmatī Hills is an evidence of the fact that Samataṭa, an independent frontier kingdom during the reign of Samudra Gupta, had ultimately come under Gupta sway. The use of Śrī-paṭṭa, the seal of the provincial Governors of the Gupta administrative system, by both Lokanātha and Śrī-Dhāraṇa bears witness to the fact that Gupta sway had spread over the district of Tippera, Noakhali, Sylhet and Cachar. But the cessation of Gupta rule by about 551 A.D. and the creation of an *Agrahāra* in the Sylhet district by Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarmma of Kāmarūpa (554 A.D.) are significant facts. Does it require much imagination, therefore, to ascertain who was or were the Parameśvaras of the masters of Cachār, Tipperā and Noakhāli after the fall of the Guptas? It may be remembered in this connection that prosperity lasted unimpaired in the Varmma dynasty of Kāmarūpa for at least three generations longer, as is shown by Sthitavarmma, grandson of Bhūtivarmma again performing two Horse-sacrifices. No serious doubt need now be entertained that the Varmmas of Kāmarūpa remained the emperors of Eastern India from about 500 A.D. to the death of Bhāskaravarmma in about 650 A.D., which was the theme of my article above referred to.

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A study of the dynastic name "Hoysala"

The share which some scholars claimed for the Hoysala Ballal III, in the foundation of Vijayanagara empire, has naturally evoked a fresh interest in the history of the Hoysala kings. In this paper it is my intention to discuss the dynastic name "Hoysala" in the light of the inscriptional evidence, bearing on the subject.

The Karnatak of the 11th century was a constant theatre of aggressive wars fought by the Colas on the one hand and the Western Cālukyas on the other.[1] Rājarāja Cola, who was an ambitious prince, made a bold bid for conquest. The west Mysore with its eastern and northern frontiers, vulnerable to attacks by the Colas on the east and the Cālukyas on the north had to bear the brunt of many battles.[2] Gangavadi 96000 which was probably the main bone of contention between the two, had been made a target of relentless attacks by the Cola armies. After the collapse of Gangavadi some time before 1000 A. D. the Colas became supreme in the south and east of Mysore, and further Cola advance to the north became more or less a matter of natural development. The Gaṅga chiefs and the feudatories of Western Cālukyas were not slow to realize what the Cola policy meant to them.[3]

After the fall of Gangavadi, they needed no eye-opener to make them feel that their fate was also in balance. Naturally, they equipped themselves with their small armies and threw in their full weight in a desperate struggle to resist the invaders.[4] The Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa (Satyāśraya II), who should have taken a grave view of the situation arising out of the Cola policy, could have by no means followed "a hands off" policy. It is therefore likely that he exhorted his feudatories to give a bold front to the advancing enemy.

1 Rāja-rāja Cola's raid of Paṭṭa country in 1005 A.D., and the subsequent hostilities which culminated in the battle of Koppam. *E. I.*, XVI. 73; *S. I. I.*, II, part V; *S. I. I.*, VI. 58; 3 of 1892; *E. C.*, XI. H, K. 31.

2 The Cola victory of 'Musaṅgi' i.e. Ucchaṅgi-droog. *S. I. I.*, III. 27
Rājendra's capture of "Iḍattuvainādu" (Eḍeloro in Mysore)
Maṇṇai (Maṇṇe near Bangalore), then ruled by a Nolamba chief.
S. I. I., III. 92.

3 The Cola general 'Pañcavan', and Rājavīju Cola's conquest of Gaṅga and Nolamba territories. *E. C.*, III. S. R. 160.

4 The Gaṅga and Nolamba countries mentioned in the list of Rājuvīju's conquests. *S. I. I.*, III., p. 29, No. 19.

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The battle at Kaleyūr,[5] that took place in 1004 A. D. near Talkāḍa, on the south side of the Kāveri river may be quoted here as an instance of such a front offered to the Cola's army of occupation. An inscription in a village near Mysore states that the Cola general Aprameya gained a complete victory in this battle. But at present, our concern is with the defeated party, viz. the Hoysalas who for the first time appear in this inscription, over-whelmed by their aggressive neighbours.

"Originally, the Hoysalas were a family of hill-chiefs residing in the extreme west of Mysore near the Ghats, at Aṅgaḍi in the Muḍgere taluka."[6] Almost all the inscriptions agree on the point that Sala was the progenitor of the line and that he was somehow connected with Śaśakapur (the modern Aṅgaḍi in the Muḍgere Taluka). But they differ considerably in the matter of mythology woven round his name. Kadūr no. 129 of 1217 A.D. puts up, that one day, when an ascetic was giving audience to Sala in the Vāsantikā Temple at Śaśakapura, a tiger rushed in from an adjoining forest, whereupon the ascetic cried "Hoy Sala" (strike, O! Sala). Sala arming himself with the ascetic's stick (Sele) killed it at a stroke.[7] It was thus that the ascetic's words came in use to denote the dynastic name of the Hoysalas.[8]

Kadūr No. 138 of 1174 A.D. adds to our information that it was Sakala who killed the tiger and that he was a Yādava king.[9] This record apparently ignores the hand of the ascetic in the episode. Nanjanagud 175 of 1169 A.D. makes out that the Hoysala kings were natives of Śaśakapur. Y. N. 103 of 1180 A.D. and many others lend support to this version of the story, despite some minor differences in details. But Sorab No. 28 of 1208 A. D. gives altogether a different story. According to it a Jain monk named Sudattācāriyar called upon the goddess Padmāvatī, with a view to joining a village (probably Sorab) to the kingdom of Sala who was born in Yādava race. But Padmāvatī came in the form of a tiger, whereupon Sudattācāriyar seemingly cried "strike, O! Sala." Striking with a stick, Sala showed his morale to the deity and earned the honorific "Poysala." Thus by the virtue of Padmāvatī's boon achieved by Sala at the instance of Sudattācāri, many kings of that family rose

5 *E. C.*, III. T. N. 44.
6 Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of S. India*, p. 57.
7 ".....*Munīndram Piḍida Seleyinettidam Poysaḷa Dembudu.....*"
8 "*Poysaḷa nāmam Kulanāmamāyē*"
E. C., vol. VI. Kadūr no. 129 of 1217 A.D.
9 "*Sakaḷa Nemba Nāge Jādava Kuḷadoḷa*" *E. C.*, VI. Kadūr No. 138.

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to fame. Some Hoysala records in Śravaṇabelgola give the name of this ascetic as Vardhamāna.

The third version of the story is contained in Shk. 235 of 1207 A.D. According to it king Sala who coveted the sacred tract of land where Tuṅgabhadrā has its source, worshipped the divine Vāsantikā of Soseyūra, ceaselessly, with a view to gain his end. One day a tiger (Puṇḍarīka) intruded on the spot at his worship-time. A muni beaming with ascetic powers was all kind, and looking at the animal said "This is bothering: strike it without fear with a stick. Availing himself of the force of the ascetic's command, the king Sala struck it and became Poysala. In addition to the honorific title Hoysala, a tiger seal was obtained through the favour of Śaśapurāmbikā who is said to have been worshipped by gods.[10]

Let us now try to see how far this legend differently quoted in a number of Hoysala records can be historically admitted as a fact.

(1) The first thing which we cannot lose sight of in this connection is that this legend is the wealth of later Hoysala records. It nowhere appears in the early Hoysala records, many of which are sufficiently long and take stock of the Hoysala titles and other relevant things connected with the dynasty. The records of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign are the first to dwell upon it. It is not un-natural that it gathered strength as it rolled on from one generation to the other. The village Sosavūra and the deity Vāsantikā, invariably connected with the legend lent colour to it, till at last it became an unrefuted fact that Śaśakapur was the original seat of the Hoysalas and that Sala and his successors rose to fame as a result of a boon obtained by the former from Vāsantikā, consequent on the death of a tiger in his hands at the instance of an ascetic whom, curiously enough, some Jain records apparently claim to be a Jain.

(2) Secondly, the term Hoysala is not uniformly used in all the Hoysala inscriptions. Variants such as Hosaṇa, Hoysaṇa, Poysala, Poyisala and Hosala are frequently used in the inscriptions to denote the same meaning. We cannot be therefore sure that Hoysala was the only current term to denote the dynastic name of the Hoysala kings.

(3) The family title *Vāsantikādevī labdha-vara prasāda* is not assumed by the earlier kings. *viz.* Nepu Kāma, Hoysala-deva and Ereyaṅga.

(4) The uncertainty and hesitation with which the Hoysala records view the creed of the "Śaśakapura Muni" of the legend cannot escape our notice.

10 E. C., VII. Shk. 235.

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The overwhelming evidence on the other side is presented by some sculptures, besides the seal of the Hoysala kings, which bears the figures of a man and a tiger, representing Sala and his victim in an encounter as narrated by the legend. Thus, while on the one hand, we cannot go to the length of accepting as a fact what at its very face appears to be a fiction it is equally true that we cannot dismiss it lightly, for want of stronger evidence.

In the first place, the figure of Sala seems to be no more historical than the myth about him. If he was really the progenitor of the line, how is it that all the records of the reigns of Nṛpakāma, Hoysaladeva and Ereyaṅga have kept up a sphynx-like silence about him? Those latter records of the Hoysalas which contain the legend, nowhere, while tracing the genealogy of the Hoysala kings go as far back as Vinayāditya. The eloquence with which the latter Hoysala Śāsana writers flatter Vinayāditya as the first Hoysala king to come to fame, and their subsequent failure to point out his exploits, betray a consciousness on their part that their statement was based on hearsay. Obviously, none of them have made any effort to fill in the gaps between Sala and Vinayāditya. One or two inscriptions have gone to the length of saying that Vinayāditya was the eldest son of Sala.[11] This is to say that the writers of the later Hoysala Śāsanas knew nothing of Vinayāditya's predecessors—still less of Sala. Secondly, if the legendary account of Sala is accepted as a fact and if Vāsantikā were truly a family deity of the Hoysalas an intriguing question arises as to why the earlier kings did not assume the family title—*Vāsantikā-devī-labdhavaraprasāda* which invariably appears in the preamble of the later Hoysala kings.

Another inconsistency in the historical myth about Sala is that some records claim the ascetic of Śaśakapur who instigated Sala to kill the tiger in the shrine of Vāsantikā, to be a Jain. Others seem to have refused to meddle with his creed. Some having totally dismissed the ascetic from their consideration, have sought to maintain the legend, shorn of his dramatic part. Some prefer to call him Sudattācāri. Others call him Vardhamāna. A great many seem to be content with the term "Muni". This looks like an effort to refrain slyly and covertly, from coming to grips and facts. In the tenth and eleventh centuries Jain religion was still effectively orthodox in the Deccan; and in the inscriptions of that age we come across a number of instances of self-immolations of the Jain monks. Keeping a margin for such a hard life led by ancient Jain monks, one cannot but say that the violence committed by Jain Muni of Śaśakapur by asking Sala to kill a tiger that rushed into his residence, was hardly

11 "*A Saḷanagra Sūnu Vinayārkkanṛpange.*"
Chikkamagalur no. 20 of 1259 A. D. *E. C.*, vol. VI.

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compatible with his orthodox religion. As we have noted above, some inscriptions have overcome this difficulty by omitting to specify altogether, the religion of the Muni who supplied Sala with his Kuṁcha to kill the aggressive beast. The less discreet Śāsana-writers related the story as they heard it. But the Jains should have smelt in it something derisive to their religion of non-violence. It is not therefore, unnatural that an inventive brain should have sought to give a different version of the story as related by Sorab No. 28 of 1208 A. D., shifting the blame of violence from the Muni to the inarticulate Padmāvatī, so that there remained no cause for the uneasiness of the orthodox Jain monks.

In the forest regions of the Malenāḍ of the 10th century, a man killing a tiger would go up in the esteem of the people and the king. An inscription at Chikka-Aṅgala of Śakakāla 777 informs that one Tammāgāvuṇḍa of Kiri-Iṅgala died after killing a tiger whereupon the Gaṅga king made a reward.[12] In the chivalrous age when this feat of a warrior killing himself while killing a tiger, was regarded as fit to be respectfully put on a lithic record, one is at a loss to know how the more valorous feat of Sala remained unrecorded in contemporary records.

The name Poysala occurs in the name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory Poysala Maruga mentioned in the early inscription of about 950 A.D., of the time of Aṇṇiga, the Nolaṁba king at Hosahalli near Marale in the Chikkamagalūr Taluka.[13] A hero-stone commemorates the death of one Rājapośaṇa in a battle near Nūḍa-nuṭūr, in the reign of Dilīpa or Irivanolaṁba. From these two references one may very well deduce that the antiquity of the term Poysala goes as far back as, about 950 A.D. Dorasamudra is known to have been the capital of the Hoysalas since 1062 A.D. from the time of Vinayāditya,[14] who is frequently mentioned with the title *Dvāravati-Puravarādhīśvara* in his records.[15] A repatriation of the farmers of Dvārāvatī is referred to in an inscription at Sidagānahalli, dated Śaka 883,[16] i.e. A.D. 961. This leaves us imagining that Dvāravati was a fairly big town of note, years before Vinayāditya bore the title *Dvārāvati-Puravarādhīśvara*. Besides, this title is undoubtedly older than the title *Śaśakapura Vāsantikādevi-labdhavaraprasāda* which appears only in later inscriptions. In no records of Vinayā

13 *M.A.R.* 1932: Hosahalli: Chikkamagalur Taluka, Kadur District.

14 *M.A.R.* 1922: Hasan District, Belur Taluka, Halebīd No. 12.

15 Chikkamagalur No. 15, *E. C.* of Śaka 996, Kadur No. 112 dat. of Vikramagāla 19. *M.A.R.* 1932, Kadūr District, Mottavara No. 16.

16 Sidagānahalli, Kadūr 159, *E. C.* vol. VI.

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ditya and his predecessors, is there made the slightest allusion to Śaśakapura or Soāvūr as ever being a capital of the Hoysalas. The inscription at Aṅgaḍi (which is the same as Śaśakapur or Sosāvūr) only makes the impression that Sosāvūr was a stronghold of the Jains and was under the administration of a Hoysala king who subscribed to Jain faith, in about the Śaka year 924 i.e. A. D. 1002, the date of the first record and Śaka 984 i.e. A.D. 1062 which is the date of the second record.[17] The title *Vāsantikādevi-labdhavaraprasāda* and the fact that Ballāla I paid a courtesy visit to Sosāvūr,[18] put together, tend to the inevitable conclusion that the predecessors of Ballāla I had some definite interest in Sosāvūr. What that interest was exactly, can be well deduced, from the known facts that Sosāvūr was a seat of the Jain gurus of Drāvilānvaya, Mūlasaṅgha and Sūrastagaṇa, and that Guṇasena Paṇḍitadeva of Mullur to whom a *sthāna* was granted at Sovāvūr regarded himself as the guru of Poysala,[19] in Śaka 984 i. e. A.D. 1062. We need hardly emphasise the relations of the guru and his royal *śiṣya* and the importance attached to the presiding deity of the place viz., Vāsantikā who subsequently became enshrined in the royal title *Vāsantikādevi-labdhavaraprasāda*, proudly borne by the successors of Vinayāditya Hoysala. The view therefore, that Sosāvūr was the original seat of the Hoysalas, as made out by an inscription in Kadūr District,[20] fades naturally against the stronger evidence in favour of Dorasamudra or Dvārāvatī as the original seat.

Since many terms such as Hoysala, Hoysaṇa, Hoyisala, Hosala appear with their variants frequently, in the inscriptions, I see no reason why the first term alone should spell so much charm, if not for the corroboration it lends to the legend carved on the traditional seal of the Hoysalas. Hoysalas also, like Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Gaṅgas may be taken as a tribe of people who loomed large in the political history of Karnataka. When they rose to heights of fame at the time of Viṣṇuvardhana a need for tracing their geneology should have been felt in order to impress upon the mass mind that they were in no way inferior to the contemporary Cālukyas, Gaṅgas and the Kalacuris, in point of race. But the history of the earliest Hoysala king was not at hand. This difficulty should have been surmounted by the same imaginative inventiveness which the Kalacuris had availed themselves of, when they were required tc introduce the progenitor of their line. A legend was circulated. The etymology of the dynastic name seemed like justifying it. Śaśakapūr

17 Mudgere No. 9. Mudgere No. 13. *E. C.*, vol. VI.
18 *E. C.*, vol. V. Belur 199. 19 *E. C.*, vol. VI. Mudgere No. 13.
20 *Ibid.*, Kadūr No. 16 of Śaka 1094.

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and the deity Vāsantikā gave a realistic colour to it. The seals stood in evidence, and it was enough for the superstitious people to believe and make believe. Thus it is probable that where facts were forgotten fiction was allowed to go its course.

If it is said that the dynastic name of the Hoysalas should be accepted as a term which denoted the community of that name, the question as to which it was exactly, becomes all the more pertinent. We have as yet no means to tackle this question satisfactorily. The Hoysala title "Maleparol-gaṇḍa" seems to have been borne even by the predecessors of Vinayāditya. Nṛpakāma for instance, in his regal capacity, was otherwise called Maleparol-gaṇḍa.[21] It is said that Vinayāditya was the ruler of Male-viṣaya,[22] which should have been the same as Male-elu,[23] and his tirade against the insubordinate Male chiefs and his diplomacy of dividing them in his interest, are a clear indication of his closest concern with the Malepas. The fact that the Cola general Aprameya called himself Malepakulakālam in an inscription describing his furious assault on a Hoysala king,[24] gives rise to a doubt as to whether the Hoysalas themselves did not belong to the Malepa clan. Kadūr No. 33 of 1075 A. D. mentions Hosaladeva instead of Hoysaladeva. Other early inscriptions mention Poysaḷa, Poyisala, Hoysaḷa and Hoyisala alike. Poysala is as good as Hoysala and Poyisala is as good as Hoyisala. The change of initial *pato ha* is patent in Halegannaḍa grammar. So, the terms which remain to be examined are Hosala, Hoyisala and Hoysaḷa. All these three terms bear close resemblance to each other. Though we cannot lay our finger and say which term is derived from which there can be little doubt that the original term well have to be sought amongst these three. In the West Coast of North Canara District there were a community of people called Hosaleru, also pronounced as Hoisleru. They have left their marks on that soil At present, I can instance one viz., the Hosaiera or Hoisaleraguḍi-hittalu of Bailūr. It is a piece of land of that name in a village called Bailūr which is about five miles to the west of Murdeśvara in Bhatkal Pethā. I have convinced myself that the term Hosaleru or Hoisaleru in usage there, denotes a community of that name. It concurs with the three terms Hosala, Hoyisala and Hoysala noted previously. This is to say that the Hoysaḷas were of an indigenous origin. Fleet's assertion that they belonged to the lineage of Yadu is hardly convincing. The title which

22 *E. C.*, vol. VI. Kadūr No. 161. Bīrarhobḷi.
23 *M.A.R.* 1926. Rannagaṭṭa in Bolur hobli.
24 *E. C.*, vol. IV. T. N. 44.

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they bore—that of Maleparol-gaṇḍam (champion over hill chiefs), appears not only among their *birudas* in their numerous inscriptions, but was also their sign manual, and it is also seen in their coins. This itself proves, as Rice remarked, that they were a family of hill chiefs to start with on the Western Ghats.

Once the indigenous origin of the Hoysalas is understood and accepted as such, I see no reason why they should not be assigned to one or the other community, indigenous of Male viṣaya. The following information appears in the "*Mysore Tribes and Castes*," as regards Hosalars (Hasaleru or Hoisaleru), an indigenous community of Male-nad with whom I have tried to associate, without prejudice, the glorious Hoysalas of mediaeval Karnatak.—

"Hasalaru are one of the forest tribes inhabiting the wild regions of western Malnāḍ. They are found in appreciable numbers in the Taluks of Tirthahalli, Koppa, Nagara, Sorab, Sāgar and Muḍgere as also the north-east frontier of Mysore District. They call themselves *Bil-Kṣatriyas* with reference to their custom of carrying bows and arrows whenever they go out for hunting. In point of social precedence they are said to rank below the Hale-Paikas, and above the Holeyas and Mādigas. Their marriage customs are like those of the castes living close to them. Their tribal assembiles are presided over by the headman known as *Gouḍa*. They are now like the aggrestic serfs of Malabar, and are bound to their masters who support them for their work"[25].

Indeed, the term Bil-Kṣatriyas by which the Hasalars proudly call themselves cannot be mistaken for anything. It proves that they were ones a martial race. And the tradition of their tribal assemblies being presided over by a Gouḍa may be perhaps a last lingering relic of that organised discipline of their past career. Their social precedence does not matter at all. It comes with power and goes with it.

B. R. JOSHI

25 *Mysore Tribes and Castes* by Nanjundayya and Anant Krishna Iyer vol. III. (p. 296).

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The Subsidiary System in Marwar

(1803-1843)

Maharaja Man Singh ruled over Marwar during a very critical period of her history. During his long reign of forty years he passed through many vicissitudes of fortune. He ascended the throne in 1803, at a time when his State was almost on the brink of dissolution as a result of internal dissensions and Maratha invasions. In many respects he showed remarkable intelligence. Tod, who knew him personally, has left for us a vivid description of his appearance and character. "In person," says he, "the Raja is above the common height, possessing considerable dignity of manner, though accompanied by the stiffness of habitual restraint. His demeanour was commanding and altogether princely; but there was an entire absence of that natural majesty and grace which distinguished the prince of Oodipur,[1] who won without exertion our spontaneous homage. The features of Raja Maun are good: his eye is full of intelligence: and though the *ensemble* of his countenance almost denotes benevolence, yet there is ever and anon a doubtful expression, which, with a peculiarly formed forehead, gave a momentary cast of malignity to it.....The biography of Maun Singh would afford a remarkable picture of human patience, fortitude, and constancy, never surpassed in any age or country. But in this school of adversity he also took lessons of cruelty: he learned therein to master or rather disguise his passions; and though he showed not the ferocity of the tiger, he acquired the still more dangerous attribute of that animal—its cunning.....I received the most convincing proofs of his intelligence, and minute knowledge of the past history, not of his own country alone, but of India in general. He was remarkably well read.....whether the first gratification of vengeance provoked his appetite, or whether the torrent of his rage, once impelled into motion, became too impetuous to be checked, so that his reason was actually disturbed by the sufferings he had undergone, it is certain he grew a demoniac; nor could any one, who had conversed with the bland, the gentlemanly, I might say gentle, Raja Maun, have imagined that he concealed under this exterior a heart so malignant as his subsequent acts evinced."[2] Such was the man who controlled the destiny of Marwar in the tumult and strife of the early years of the nineteenth century.

1 Rana Bhim Singh.

2 Tod, *Personal Narrative*.

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Soon after his accession Man Singh received an offer of alliance from Lord Wellesley, who was at that time anxious to use the Rajput States as "a barrier against the return of the Marathas to the northern parts of Hindustan."[3] A treaty[4] was actually concluded on December 22, 1803, and ratified by the Governor-General in Council on January 15, 1804. Man Singh refused to ratify it and proposed another. He also entered into negotiations with Jaswant Rao Holkar and even helped him by giving shelter to his family. The British authorities were naturally exasperated, and the treaty was cancelled in May, 1804.

During the succeeding years Marwar suffered terribly from internal dissensions, civil war, and the depredations of the Marathas and the Pindaris.[5] Man Singh was able to maintain himself on the throne, but Amir Khan, the notorious Pindari leader, became "the arbiter of Marwar." He stationed his lieutenant Gafur Khan with a garrison in Nagore, and divided the lands of Mairta among his followers. Another garrison was placed in the castle of Nowah, and thus the salt lakes of Nowah and Sambhar were brought under his control. The *Sardars* naturally resented "this predominant foreign interference" in the administration of the State. At that time the chief counsellors of Man Singh were Induraj and the high priest Deonath. Supposing that their advice was responsible for the introduction of "foreign interference," the *Sardars* decided to "cut them off." Curiously enough, Amir Khan himself was utilised for this purpose. For seven *lakhs* of rupees Amir Khan's Pathans murdered Induraj and Deonath in October, 1815. Metcalfe, who was then British Resident in Delhi, reported to the Supreme Government that "either the Raja or some powerful party in the Fort (of Jodhpur) must have been accessory to the murder of the ministers."[6] According to Tod, some people thought that Man Singh had consented to the murder of Induraj, but when he found that the minister's death "incidentally involved" the death of his chief priest, his reason was affected. "He shut himself up in his apartments, refused to communicate with any one, and soon omitted every duty, whether political or religious."[7] So the chiefs of the State compelled him to transfer all political powers to his only son, Chuttur Singh, to be exercised by the latter as Regent. Although this arrangement was "compulsory," Man Singh "went through the ceremony

3 Secret Consultations, September 6, 1804, No. 6. (Imperial Record Department, New Delhi).

4 Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, III, 4th ed. p. 157-8.

5 See A. C. Banerjee's *Rajput Studies*, pp. 169-179, 226-231, 234-239, 241-250, 312-315.

6 Political Consultations, November 10, 1815, Nos. 14, 16. (Imperial Record Department, New Delhi).

7 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

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necessary on the occasion, in public, with apparent willingness."[8] That the "willingness" was "apparent," not real, was clearly proved later on by the cruel punishments inflicted by him on Chutter Singh's associates.

Chutter Singh was, unfortunately, a dissolute young man quite incapable of dealing with the crisis he was called upon to avert.[9] He submitted himself to the guidance of evil counsellors, of whom the most prominent were Nagji, the *Killedar* or commandant of the citadel of Jodhpur and Mulji Dandul, "one of the old allodial stock." These men administered to the follies of the young prince and accumulated wealth. Chutter Singh was dragged to ruin and death. Tod says, "……youth and base panders to his pleasures seduced him from his duties, and he died, some say, the victim of illicit pursuits, others from a wound given by the hand of one of the chieftains, whose daughter he attempted to seduce."[10]

When Lord Hastings decided to crush the Pindaris he found it necessary to take all Rajput States under British protection. According to Article 8 of the treaty[11] with Daulat Rao Sindhia, concluded on November 22, 1805, the British Government was bound "to enter into no Treaty with the Rajahs of Oodeypore and Jodhpore, and Kotah or other Chiefs, tributaries of Dowlut Rao Sindhia, situated in Malwa, Meywar, or Marwar, and in no shape whatever to interfere with the settlement which Sindhia may make with those Chiefs." From this obligation the British Government was released by Article 9 of the treaty[12] with Daulat Rao Sindhia, concluded on November 5, 1817, which declared that "the British Government shall be at full liberty to form engagements with the States of Oudeypore, Jodhpore, and Kotah, and with the State of Boondee, and other substantive States on the left bank of the Chumbul."

In October, 1817, Metcalfe was instructed to conclude an engagement with Marwar. The Secretary to the Supreme Government observed, "Jodhpur is understood to be a country of small pecuniary resources, but the proverbial bravery of its inhabitants will enable that Government to bring forward a powerful body of auxiliaries for the service of the British Government and the allied States. This should, accordingly, be the principal description of aid to be required from Jodhpur in the event of our establishing an intimate connection with that State. A pecuniary contribution, however, towards the ex

8 Political Consultations, June 14, 1817, No. 13; August 15, 1817, No. 40.

9 Amir Khan and Bapu Sindhia were then plundering Marwar (Secret Consultations, June 11, 1816, No. 28; June 15, 1816, No. 10, 11; October 12, 1816, No. 16).

10 *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

11 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 59-62. 12 *Ibid*, pp. 64-66.

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penses of the protecting force ought, if attainable, to be required from Jodhpur."[13]

Although negotiations were opened by Metcalfe as soon as he received the above instructions, no properly authorised *vakil* came to him even in November, 1817.[14] In December, 1817, the treaty was negotiated in Delhi by two *vakils*[15]—Byas Bishen Ram and Byas Ubhee Ram. The treaty[16] was signed on January 6, 1818, and ratified by the Governor-General on January 16, 1818.

Article 1 provided for "perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interests" between the two States. By Article 2 the British Government engaged "to protect the principality and territory of Jodhpore." By Article 3 Man Singh promised to "act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy," and engaged to have no "connection with any other chiefs and States." Article 4 laid down that he "will not enter into any negotiation with any Chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government: but his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue." Article 5 provided that all disputes between Jodhpur and other States would be "submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government."

With regard to the question of tribute it was decided by Article 6 that "the tribute heretofore paid to Sindhia by the State of Jodhpore,[17] .....shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government, and the engagements of the State of Jodhpore with Sindhia respecting tribute shall cease." Man Singh declared that "besides the tribute paid to Sindhia by the State of Jodhpore, tribute has not been paid to any other State"; so "if either Sindhia or any one else lay claim to tribute the British Government engages to reply to such claim." (Article 7). "This article," Metcalfe wrote to the Supreme Government on January 15, 1818, "is intended to give us a claim to any other tribute that Jodhpur may have paid to other States besides Sindhia, if any such has been concealed from us."[18] The sums paid by Man Singh to Amir Khan were "not acknowledged to be in the way of tribute."[19]

Article 8 provided for securing "a powerful body of auxiliaries for the service of the British Government and the allied States": "The State of Jodhpore shall furnish fifteen hundred horse for the service

13 Secret Consultations, October 28, 1817, No. 26.

14 Secret Consultations, December 19, 1817, No. 112.

15 Tod (*Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV) mentions only one *vakil*—Byas Bishen Ram, but the text of the treaty mentions Byas Ubhee Ram as well.

16 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 159-161.

17 A schedule annexed to the treaty shows that the tribute paid to Sindhia amounted to 1,08,000 Jodhpur rupees.

18 Secret Consultations, February 6, 1818, No. 102.

19 *Op. cit.*

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of the British Government whenever required; and when necessary the whole of the Jodhpore forces shall join the British army, excepting such a portion as may be requisite for the internal administration of the country." Metcalfe wanted "to obtain the services of a larger body of horse," but the Jodhpur *vakils* "protested solemnly that this was the utmost that the resources of the State could furnish in a condition of efficiency." The *vakils* demanded an assurance that the Jodhpur contingent should not be employed in the Deccan. Metcalfe agreed.[20] It was also proposed that the armed contingents of the *Sardars* of Marwar should join the British army when necessary; but this proposal was opposed by Man Singh himself, who, according to Tod,[21] saw in it "the germ of discord, from the certainty of interference it would lead to." No explicit reference was, therefore, made in the treaty to the contingents of the *Sardars*.

Article 9 provided that Man Singh would remain "absolute ruler" of his State and that "the jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality." The Jodhpur *vakils* requested Metcalfe to promise that the British Government would not listen to the Raja's relatives or Rajput *Sardars* of the State if they submitted "self-interested proposals." Metcalfe replied that this was "understood" in Article 9.[22] In his letter to the Supreme Government, dated January 15, 1818, he observed that some of the *Sardars* were disaffected against the administration of the Prince Regent. If the latter applied for British assistance against those *Sardars*, Metcalfe suggested that the application should be refused. He pointed out that the *Thakurs* "have rights as well as the Raja, and we could not undertake to enforce obedience without ascertaining that we were not about to become the instruments of oppression."[23]

The *vakils* of Jodhpur also pressed some other demands, but they had to remain satisfied with Metcalfe's verbal assurances. Man Singh wanted to resume the *jagir* given under coercion to Amir Khan, to recover the fort of Amarkot occupied by an Amir of Sind, and to retain the *pargana* of Godwar[24] secured from Mewar by his predecessor Bijoy Singh. Metcalfe merely promised that the British Government would not obstruct the Raja in the accomplishment of these objects.[25]

At the time when this treaty was concluded the government was in the hands of Prince Chuttur Singh.[26] "But ere the treaty was rati-

20 Secret Consultations, February 6, 1818, No. 102.

21 *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

22 Secret Consultations, February 6, 1818, No. 102.

23 *Op. cit.*

24 Tod, *Annals of Mewar*, Chapter XVI; Reu, *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors*, pp. 186-188.

25 Secret Consultations, February 6, 1818, No. 102.

26 *Op. cit.*

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fied, this dissipated youth was no more."[27] The government was then actually managed by an oligarchy headed by Salim Singh[28] of Pokaran, one of the principal *Sardars* of the State, who was closely associated with the Dewan, Akhi Chand. Tod says, "All the garrisons and offices of trust throughout the country were held by the creatures of a junto, of which these were the heads."[29] After the death of Prince Chuttur Singh "the Pokaran faction," dreading Man Singh's resumption of government, tried to adopt the only son of the Ruler of Idar[30] as their sovereign. The Ruler of Idar refused to accept this offer unless it was supported by all the *Sardars* of Marwar. Such unanimity was found unattainable, for many *Sardars* disliked the "Pokaran faction." That "faction" had, therefore, no alternative except the restoration of Man Singh.

Even after his restoration Man Singh took no active interest in the affairs of the State. Tod says, "He listened to all with the most apathetic indifference."[31] Salim Singh continued to control the administration with the title of *Bhanjgurea*[32] and Akhi Chand retained his office of *Dewan*. Man Singh seemed to have forgotten their previous hostility to himself during the Regency of his son. He acted "as an automaton, moving as the Dewan pleased."[33] All the garrisons were occupied by troops under the control of the "Pokaran faction"; all offices of trust were filled by their followers. "The name of justice was unknown."[34] The Pathan mercenaries[35] did not receive their pay; "they were to be seen begging in the streets of the capital, or hawking bundles of forge on their heads to preserve them from starvation."[36] The nucleus of an opposition to the selfish and oppressive "Pokaran faction" had been already formed by Fatehraj, the brother of the murdered minister Induraj; but for the time being the

27 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

28 He was the son of Sawai Singh, who had set up Dhukol Singh as the rival of Man Singh. See Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapters XIV-XV.

29 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

30 He was the nearest of kin of the reigning family of Jodhpur.

31 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

32 Malcolm says: "The Rajpoot chiefs employ their own tribe in the army, but seldom, if ever, in civil stations.....when a noble is raised by his favour to power, but without distinct office, he is termed a counsellor or mediator; such person being generally deemed a channel of intercourse between the prince and his subjects." Such a "mediator" was called *Bhanjgurea* (*Memoir of Central India*, vol. I, p. 549).

33 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV. 34 *Op. cit.*

35 At one time Man Singh had a corps of 3,500 foot, and 1,500 horse, with 25 guns, commanded by Hundall Khan, a native of Panipat.

36 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

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blind support of Man Singh enabled Salim Singh and Akhi Chand to act as they pleased.

"The total disorganization of the government"[37] in Marwar did not escape the notice of the British authorities. In December, 1818, a British officer named F. Wilder, who was at that time Superintendent of the district of Ajmer, was deputed to report on the actual condition of Marwar. He was instructed to offer the assistance of the British Government for the restoration of peace and order in the State. In a private interview with Man Singh Mr. Wilder offered to place troops at his disposal. The crafty Raja declined this offer, for he knew quite well that the employment of British troops for internal administration would inevitably lead to British "dictation and interference" in the internal affairs of the State. He told Mr. Wilder that he placed "reliance on himself to restore his State to order." At the same time he "failed not to disseminate the impression amongst his chiefs" that British troops were ready to come to his rescue. Tod aptly remarks, "He felt that the lever was at hand to crush faction to the dust: and with a Machiavellian caution, he determined that the existence of this engine should suffice; that its power should be felt, but never seen; that he should enjoy all the advantages this influence would give, without risking any of its dangers if called into action."[38]

Unable to convince Man Singh that "his affairs were irretrievable without the direct aid of the paramount power,"[39] Mr. Wilder returned to Ajmer in February, 1819. In the same month Tod had the political duties of Marwar added to those of Udaipur, Kotah, Bundi and Sirohi. He reached Jodhpur in November, 1819, and found matters in nearly the same state as on Mr. Wilder's departure. During his stay of nearly three weeks Tod repeatedly assured Man Singh of the full support of the British Government and requested him to utilise it for the welfare of the State. Man Singh's response was the same as it had been in the case of Mr. Wilder's exhortations. The problems which confronted the Raja at that time are thus summarised by Tod:

"1. Forming an efficient administration.

2. Consideration of the finances; the condition of the crown lands; the feudal confiscations, which, often unjust, had caused great discontent.

3. The re-organization and settlement of the foreign troops,[40] on whose service the Raja chiefly depended.

37 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV. 38 *Op. cit.* 39 *Op. cit.*

40 Tod says, "The Rajas maintain a foreign mercenary force upon their fiscal revenues to overawe their own turbulent vassalage. These are chiefly Rohilla and Afghan infantry, armed with muskets and match-locks; and having cannon and sufficient discipline to act in a body, they are formidable to the Rajpoot cavaliers.....At one period, the Raja maintained a foreign force amount-

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4. An effective police on all the frontiers, to put down the wholesale pillage of the Mairs in the south, the Larkhanis in the north, and the desert Sahraes and Khosas in the west; reformation of the tariff, or scale of duties on commerce, which were so heavy as almost to amount to prohibition; and at the same time to provide for its security."[41]

Instead of trying to solve these problems the *de facto* rulers of Marwar—Salim Singh and Akhi Chand—proceeded "to gratify ancient animosities" by striking at those *Sardars* who were not their camp-followers. Ganorah, one of the eight principal fiefs[42] in Marwar, was put under sequestration, and only released by a fine of more than a year's revenue. Several minor fiefs, including Chundawul, which was one of the sixteen second class fiefs,[43] suffered in the same manner. At length Akhi Chand had the audacity to put his hand on Ahwa, the chief fief of Marwar; but the proud Champawat *Sardar* defied the *Dewan*. Man Singh took shelter behind his "sequestered habits." No body knew whether he really sanctioned the anti-feudal policy pursued by the "Pokaran faction." Tod says, "Gloom, mistrust, and resentment, pervaded the whole feudal body. They saw a contemptible faction sporting with their honour and possessions, from an idea they industriously propagated, that an unseen but mighty power was at hand to support their acts, given out as those of the prince."[44] This position was quite intolerable to the proud *Sardars* of Marwar. Tod says, "The aristocracy in Marwar has always possessed more power than in any of the sister principalities around.[45] The cause may be traced to their first settlement in the desert; and it has been kept in action by the peculiarities of their condition, especially in that protracted struggle for the rights of the minor Ajit, against the despotism of the empire."[46]

In 1820 Man Singh threw off the mask of insanity and inflicted

ing to, or at least mustered as, eleven thousand men, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry, with fifty-five guns, and a rocket establishment. Besides a monthly pay, lands to a considerable amount were granted to the commanders of the different legions. By these over-grown establishments, to maintain a superiority over the feudal lords....., the demoralization and ruin of this country have been accelerated." (*Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XVI).

41 *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

42 Ahwa, Asope, Pokaran, Nimaj, Reah, Ganorah, Kewnsir (or Keemsir), Khejurla.

43 Kochaman, Khari-ka-dewa, Chundawul, Khada, Ahore, Baggori, Gajsinghpura, Mehtri, Marote, Roat, Chaupur, Budsu, Kaotah (great), Kaotah (little), Hursolah, Degode.

44 *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

45 For the position of the nobles in the Rajput State see A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 100-110, 120-137.

46 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XIII.

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terrible punishment upon the "Pokaran faction." Among those treacherously killed were Akhi Chand, Nagji and Mulji Dandul. They, and other victims of the Raja's cruel wrath, were compelled to disgorge the wealth which they had accumulated. The attempt to kill Salim Singh, however, failed. But Surtan Singh of Nimaj, "his constant associate," was killed. In a letter addressed to the Government on these events, dated July 7, 1820, Tod observed, "The danger is, that success may tempt him to go beyond the line of necessity, either for the ends of justice or security. If he stops with the Pokurn chief, and one or two inferiors concerned in the coalition of 1806[47] and the usurpation of his son, with the condign punishment of a few of the civil officers, it will afford a high opinion of his character; but if he involves Ahwa, and the other principal chiefs, in these prescriptions, he may provoke a strife which will yet overwhelm him. He has done enough for justice, and even for revenge, which has been carried too far as regards Soortan Singh, whose death (which I sincerely regret) was a prodigal sacrifice."

After the murder of Akhi Chand the Raja installed Fatehraj in the post of *Dewan* and relentlessly pursued the policy of crushing all the feudal chiefs irrespective of their loyalty or treachery in the past.[48] His "treachery and cold-blooded tyranny completely estranged all the chiefs." Tod says, "Isolated as they were, they could make no resistance against the mercenary battalions, amounting to ten thousand men.....; and they dared not league for defence, from the dreaded threat held over them, of calling in the British troops; and in a few months the whole feudal association of Marwar abandoned their homes and their country, seeking shelter in the neighbouring States from the Raja's cruel and capricious tyranny. To his connection with the British Government alone he was indebted for his being able thus to put forth the resources of his policy, which otherwise he never could have developed either with safety or effect; nor at any former period of the history of Marwar could the most daring of its princes have undertaken, with any prospect of success, what Raja Maun accomplished under this alliance."[49]

The nobles who thus fled from Man Singh's tyranny found refuge in Kotah, Mewar, Bikaner, and Jaipur. In 1821 they tried to obtain the mediation of the British Government. The letter[50] written by them to the Political Agent of the Western Rajput States in August, 1821, contains the following significant passage:

47 See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 234-250.

48 Amar Singh of Ahore, who had loyally served Man Singh as his "chief shield" throughout his reign, was obliged to seek refuge in exile.

49 Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter XV.

50 Tod, *Feudal System of Rajasthan*, Appendix.

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"Sri Maharajah and ourselves are of one stock, all Rahtores. He is our head, we his servants; but now anger has seized him, and we are dispossessed of our country.....Such a spirit has possessed his mind as never was known to any former prince of Jodhpur. His forefathers have reigned for generations; our forefathers were their ministers and advisers, and whatever was performed was by the collective wisdom of the council of our chiefs.....Now, men of no consideration are in our prince's presence: hence this reverse. *When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred,* claimants and laying claim to the land."[51]

The British Government very reluctantly interfered in the quarrel between Man Singh and his nobles. Aid was refused to the exiled *Sardars;* but an accommodation was effected in 1824 (after Tod's departure from India) through the mediation of the British Government.[52] The estates of the *Sardars* of Ahwa, Assore, Nimaj and Rass were to be restored within six months from the date of the engagement, *i.e.,* February 25, 1824; but the *Sardars* of Chundawul and Budsu were not "desirous of being recommended to favour." This engagement was guaranteed by the Political Agent, Mr. Wilder. Peace was, however, not restored in Marwar. In 1827 some disaffected nobles of Marwar decided to place the pretender Dhukol Singh[53] on the *gadi* They assembled their followers in Jaipur territory, and with the connivance, if not the active support, of the Jaipur *Darbar* prepared to invade Marwar. The British Government censured the Maharaja of Jaipur and asked Dhukol Singh to dissociate himself from the disaffected *Sardars.* "At the same time Government[54] declared that although it might perhaps be required to protect the Maharaja[55] against unjust usurpation, or wanton but too powerful rebellion, there was no obligation to support him against universal disaffection and insurrection caused by his own injustice, incapacity, and misrule."[56]

Even after the failure of the confederacy of the disaffected *Sardars* to put Dhukol Singh on the *gadi* of Jodhpur further evidence of Man Singh's "incapacity and misrule" was forthcoming. Between the years 1824 and 1835 he had to make over to the British Government 28 villages in the *parganas* of Chang and Kot-kirana in Merwara with a view to bringing the lawless Minas and Mers into complete submission. Only 7 of these villages were resumed in 1843; the others are still under the administrative control of the British Government.[57] In 1836 the district of Mallani was taken under the superintendence

51 See A. C. Banerjee's, *Rajput Studies,* p. 135.
52 Aitchison, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 167.
53 Tod, *Annals of Marwar,* Chapter XIV-XV.
54 I.e. British Government.
55 Man Singh.
56 Aitchison, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 141.
57 *Ibid.,* pp. 140, 161-166.

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and control of the British Resident, for Man Singh was unable to maintain order there. In 1898 the district was restored to the Jodhpur *Darbar*.[58] In 1832 Man Singh was required, under Article 8 of the treaty of 1818, to furnish a contingent to co-operate with a British force against freebooters who occupied Nagar Parkar. As this contingent proved altogether useless, the obligation to furnish a contingent was commuted in 1835 to an annual payment of Rs. 1,15,000 towards the Jodhpur Legion.[59]

The climax came in 1839. The lingering disputes with the nobles paralysed the administration. Man Singh was rendered impotent for good or evil by his complete subjection to priestly influence. The British Government could no longer postpone interference. A British force occupied Jodhpur for five months. On September 24, 1839, Man Singh was compelled to execute an Engagement[60] to ensure future good government. The following Articles deserve special notice :—

"1st.—Now for the government of the country mutual deliberation having been agreed upon the Maharajah and Colonel Sutherland[61] and the Sirdars and Uhal-i-kars and the Khuwas Pasbans of the Raj will meet and institute rules for the government of the country which are to be acted upon now and henceforward; they will also define and settle the right of the several chiefs and of the Officers of the Government and of others depending upon it according to ancient usage.

"2nd.—The British Political Agent and the Uhal-i-kars of the Raj of Jodhpore having counselled together will conduct the affairs of the government according to these rules and after having consulted the Maharajah."

"4th.—The Colonel Sahib has said that a British garrison shall be placed in the fortress of Jodhpore, and to this the Maharaja agrees....."

"7th.—Those whose rights have been sequestrated shall be repossessed in accordance with the principles of justice, and the incumbents shall perform liege service to the Durbar."

This Engagement practically placed the administration of Marwar under the control of the British Resident. But it was binding on Man Singh alone, not on his successors. He died on September 5, 1843, and the long chapter of anarchy and tyranny in Marwar came to an end.

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58 Aitchison, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 140-141.
59 *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 166.
60 *Ibid.*, pp. 168-170.
61 Political Agent

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Some Aspects of the Worship of Nārāyaṇa

II

In my previous paper(*IHQ.*, vol. xx, pp. 275 ff.) an attempt has been made to establish the position that it is possible to trace the history of Nārāyaṇa as an independent deity from the Ṛgvedic times, through the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas*, to the *Mahābhārata*; that he was perhaps the special deity of the Sātvatas worshipped in their own special mode; that he was intimately connected with the Pañcarātra system in the same way as Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha was connected with the Paśupat system and lastly that with the rise of Vāsudevism or Vyūha worship he seemed to have lost his position and was identified with Vāsudeva.

In the later texts Nārāyaṇa is only a form of Viṣṇu representing his cosmic aspect and in sectarian Vaiṣṇavism he is wholly identified with Viṣṇu or is only a name of Viṣṇu. In the cults of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa of Ābhīra affinities as lover-god and child-god there is no place either for Nārāyaṇa or for the Vyūhas. What has then happened to the Nārāyaṇa the tradition of whose existence as an independent deity we have sought to trace?

The aniconic worship of Nārāyaṇa which prevails at the present time raises problems which have attracted little attention. The aniconic representation of Nārāyaṇa is known as *śālagrāmaśilā*. It is also called Viṣṇu or *Kṛṣṇaśilā*. The aniconic worship of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva identified with Viṣṇu was existent in the 2nd or 1st century B.C., if not earlier. The aniconic worship of Rudra-Śiva in the form of liṅga was probably known from about this period. The aniconic worship of Nārāyaṇa seems to be of much later origin. Detailed references to it are found in the late *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* and in the *Agni* and *Varāha Purāṇas*. The Vana Parvan account of holy places mentions an image of Viṣṇu known as Śālagrāma at the Puṇḍarīka tīrtha.[1] A Ghoṣuṇḍi inscription mentions *pūjāśilā prākāro nārāyaṇavāṭika* which has been translated as "enclosing wall of the stone (object) of worship called Nārāyaṇavāṭika (compound)."[2] An attempt has been made to interpret *pūjāśilā* as Śālagrāmaśilā.[3]

According to *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* Nārāyaṇa turned into stone as a result of a curse of Tulasī. Tulasī was originally a Gopinī beloved of

1 *Mbh.*, Vana P. ch. 84.
2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXII, p. 204.
3 J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

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Kṛṣṇa. Rādhā cursed her to be born as a human being. She was born as the daughter of king Dharmadhvaja and came to be known as Tulasī. Later she was married to the daitya Śaṅkhacūḍa who was really Sudāmagopāla born as a demon through a curse of Rādhā. Through austere devotion he had obtained from Brahmā the boon that he would be invulnerable so long as his wife's chastity was not violated. Śaṅkhacūḍa deprived the gods of their domains. Thereupon they proceeded to the Baikuṇṭha accompanied by Brahmā and Śiva to appeal to Nārāyaṇa for help. It was decided at the conference of the gods that Śiva would engage Śaṅkhacūḍa in a fight while Nārāyaṇa would violate Tulasī in the guise of her husband. This plan was executed and Tulasī on finding that Nārāyaṇa in the guise of her husband had violated her uttered a curse that he would turn into stone and lose his memory. She then fell at his feet and wept. Nārāyaṇa said that she would discard her present form and go to him. Her body would become the river Gaṇḍakī and from her hair would grow the holy plant Tulasī.[4] Nārāyaṇa also said that he would turn into stone and stay near the Gaṇḍakī and *cakras* would be formed on his stone body by *vajrakīṭas* and *kṛmis*.[5] In the *Varāha Purāṇa* it is told that Gaṇḍakī practised severe austerities for a long time for seeing Viṣṇu. Pleased with her devotion he appeared before her and told her to ask for a boon. She prayed that he might be pleased to be born as her son. The Lord granted her prayer saying that he would always live in her womb as śālagrāmaśilā and thus become her son.[6] Describing the origin of the holy place Śālagrāmakṣetra *Varāha Purāṇa* gives an account how the Lord appeared before the sage Sālaṅkāyana in

4 *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, Prakṛti Kh. quoted *in Śabdakalpadruma*, vol. I, p. 389.

5 छलेन धर्म्मभङ्गेण मम स्वामी त्वया हतः ।
पाषाणहृदयस्त्वञ्च दयाहीनो यतः प्रभो ।
तस्मात् पाषाणसदृशस्त्वं भवेऽहरेधुना ॥
श्रीभगवानुवाच । अहञ्च शैलरूपीच गण्डकीतीरसन्निधौ ।
अधिष्ठानं करिष्यामि भारते तव शापतः ॥
वज्रकीटश्च कृमयो वज्रदंष्ट्राश्च तत्र वै ।
तच्छिलाकुहरे चक्रं करिष्यति मदीयकम् ।

6 यदि देव प्रसन्नोऽसि देयो मे वाञ्छितो वरः ।
मम गर्भगतोभूत्वा विष्णोमत् पुत्रतां व्रज ॥—
शालग्रामशीलारूपी तव गर्भगतः सदा ॥
तिष्ठामि तव पुत्रत्वे भक्तानुग्रहकारणात् ।
—*Varāha Purāṇa* quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, vol. II, p. 1516.

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the form of a *śāl* tree.[7] It appears from this account of the holy place Śālagrāmakṣetra that the god once revealed himself in the form of a *śāl* tree. The name *śālagrāma* perhaps takes its origin from the *śāl* tree.

The source of the *śālagrāma śilā* is the river Gaṇḍakī. The sacred texts notice marks on the śilās which distinguish one type of śilā from another and different names of Viṣṇu, the *vyūhas* and the incarnations are given to the śilās according to these marks, shades of colour and shapes.[8] Referring to the śālagrāma Gopinath Rao writes: "A śālagrāma is generally a flintified ammonite shell which is riverworn and thus rounded and beautifully polished. Each of these has a hole, through which are visible several interior spiral grooves resembling the representations of the *cakra* or discus of Viṣṇu; and these are in fact considered by the people to be naturally produced representations of the discus of Viṣṇu. The number as well as the disposition of the spirals visible through the holes is utilised in ascertaining which of the many aspects and *avatāras* of Viṣṇu a given specimen represents and what the value of it is to the worshipper.....It is a fairly common sight to find a large collection of śālagrāmas in many important temples, in monasteries called *maṭhas* and even in certain old households. They are worshipped by Vaiṣṇavas and also by persons of Vaidika Śaiva persuasion but the Āgamic Śaivas and Vīra Śaivas do not worship them."[9]

The sale and purchase of *śālagrāma śilās* are strictly forbidden.[10]

7 अथ दीर्घेण कालेन स ऋषिः शंसितव्रतः ।
तप्यमानो यथान्यायं पश्यते शालमुत्तमम् ॥
विश्रामं कुरुते तत्र द्रष्टुकामोऽथ मां मुनिः ।
मायया मम मूढ़ात्मा शक्रो द्रष्टुं न मामभूत् ।
ततः पूर्व्वेण पार्श्वेन तस्य शालस्य सुन्दरि ।
दृष्ट्वा मां तत्र स मुनिस्तपस्वी शंसितव्रतः ।—
योहयं वृक्षस्त्वया दृष्टः सोऽहमेव न संशयः ।
एतत्कोऽपि न जानाति विना देव महेश्वरम् ।
Varāha Purāṇa quoted in *Ibid.*

8 *Padma Purāṇa*, Pātāla kh. ch. 10; *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, ch. 55 (Baṅgavasī Ed.)

9 T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, part i, pp. 9-11.

10 शालग्रामशिलायां ये मूल्यमुत्पादयेन्नरः ॥
विक्रेता चानुघन्ता च यः परीक्षानुमोदकः ।
सर्व्वे ते नरकं यान्ति यावदाहूतसंप्लवम् ।
—*Padma Purāṇa*, Pātāla kh., ch. II.

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Viṣṇu is always present in *śālagrāma śilās*. The merit earned by worshipping a crore of *śivaliṅgas* and by performing a crore of *yajñas* is equal to the merit earned by worshipping one *śālagrāmaśilā* which was worshipped of old by Skanda. The worship of the *śālagrāma* gives *mokṣa* to a house-holder. Hari is always present near the *śālagrāma śilā*. Lakṣmī abides there and the merits of all the holy places are to be found there. All sins are removed by worshipping it.[11]

A very significant distinction made in the case of worship of the *śālagrāma śilā* is that women and Śūdras are not entitled to touch it. Sandal paste placed on it by a female is like poisonous mud, *kumkum* like thunderbolt, offerings of edibles full of poison. So females should avoid touching the *śilā*.[12] Low castes should not touch the *śālagrāma śilā*, women and Śūdras should not touch it. They should worship it from a distance. Only Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas may worship it.[13] This prohibition is a striking difference from the worship of the Śivaliṅga which all may touch and worship.

Great sanctity attached to the *śālagrāma śilā* in respect of certain matters relating to the rules of conduct is of special significance. Telling of falsehoods with the *śālagrāma* in one's hand and violation

Again,

शालग्रामशिलायास्तु मौल्यमुद्घाटयेत् क्वचित् ।
विक्रेता क्रयकर्त्ता वा नरके वै पतेत् ध्रुवम् ॥

—*Barāha Purāṇa* quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, vol. II, p. 1515.

11 *Br. Vv. Purāṇa*, Pk. kh., ch. 19.

12 स्त्रीपाणिमुक्तपुष्पानि शालग्रामशिलोपरि ।
परैरधिकपापानि वदन्ति ब्राह्मणोत्तमाः ।
चन्दनं विषपङ्काभं कुङ्कमं वज्रसन्निभम् ।
नैवेद्यं कालकुटाभं भवेद्भगवतः कृतम् ॥
तस्मात् सर्व्वात्मना त्याज्यः स्त्रियाः स्पर्शः शिलोपरि ॥

—*Padma Purāṇa*, Pātāla kh., ch. 20.

13 शालग्रामो न स्प्रष्टव्यो हीनवर्णैर्वसुन्धरे ।
स्त्रीशूद्रकरसंस्पर्शो वज्रस्पर्शाधिको व्रतः ।—
यदि भक्तिर्भवेत् तस्य स्त्रीनां वापि वसुन्धरे ।
दूरादेवास्पृशन् पूजां कारयेत् सुसमाहितः ।

—*Varāha Purāṇa* quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, vol. II, p. 1575.

विप्रक्षत्रियवैश्यानां शालग्रामशिलार्च्चने ।
अधिकारोन शूद्रानां हरेरर्च्चार्च्चने तथा ।

—*Brahmavaivarta P.*, Janma kh. ch. 21.

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of a pledge given holding the *śilā* in one's hand are sinful.[14] Then again, in the performance of *vratas*, in the act of making a gift, in *śrāddhas* and in the worship of the gods it is best to invoke the deity in the *śālagrāma*.[15] Tulasī and the *śālagrāma* should be placed at the head of a man on death bed.[16]

Reference may also be made in this connection to the position of the *śālagrāma* representing Nārāyaṇa in certain socio-religious observances in the orthodox Brahmanical society in Bengal. In the important *saṃskāras* in which Vedic rites are followed, e. g. rice-giving ceremony, sacred thread ceremony, marriage, *śrāddha* etc. the presence of the *śālagrāma* is indispensable. In all *homa* or fire sacrifices its presence is necessary. In the marriage ceremony the act of *sampradāna* or giving of the bride must be made in the presence of the *śālagrāma* and its presence imparts to the act the binding force of an act done under the law. Nārāyaṇa and Agni are regarded as two witnesses to the correct performance of the ceremony and its irrevocability. In religious performances too Nārayāṇa represented by the *śālagrāma śilā* holds in some respects a unique position in Bengal. It is well known that a deity may be worshipped in his image constructed according to the rules or in its representation in an earthen pot (*ghaṭa*) filled with water, with mango twig and a green cocoanut on the top and vermilion smears on its body. The presence of the *śālagrāma* which requires no enlivening or invoking ceremonies is necessary, in nearly all forms of worship of deities in this way. In the case of images of deities constructed for the purpose of occasional worship enlivening and invoking rites must be performed before actual worship can be offered and the presence of the *śālagrāma* may be dispensed with.

The *śālagrāma śilā* or several of the *śilās* may be worshipped together with the iconic representations of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa and Śrī-Lakṣmī-Rādhā and joint worship appears to be the usual

14 शालग्रामशिलां धृत्वा मिथ्यावाक्यं वदेत तु यः—
शालग्रामशिलां धृत्वा स्वीकारं यो न पालयेत ।
स प्रयात्यसिपत्रञ्च लक्षमन्वन्तरावधि ।
—*Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, Prakṛti kh., 19.*

15 व्रतं दानं प्रतिष्ठा च श्राद्धञ्च देवपूजनम् ।
शालग्रामशिलायाश्चैवाधिष्ठानात् प्रशस्तकम् ।—*Ibid.*

16 प्राणान्तकाले तु यस्य भवेद्भाग्यबलान्नृप ।
वाचि नाम हरेः पुण्यं शिलाकृतिस्तदन्तिके ॥
गच्छत्सु प्राणमार्गेषु यस्य विभ्रमतोऽपि चेत् ।
शालग्रामशिलामूर्त्तिं स्तदा मुक्तिर्नसंशयः ।
—*Padma Purāṇa, Pātāla kh., ch. 20,*

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practice. But in contrast to the practice of the Śaivas with whom the emblem of the god is paid more attention than his anthropomorphic representations among the Vaiṣṇavas iconic representations of the god are more important than his emblems. So it is found that while the liṅga is enshrined in most of the famous Śaiva temples in India, in the famous Vaiṣṇava temples images of the god are installed and emblems occupy a position of secondary importance. What is the cause of this difference in treatment to emblems in the two great sectarian faiths it is not easy to explain. An important point which may be noted is that the emblem of the deity is more widely worshipped as a household deity. This fact, taken together with the socio-religious functions attributed to the *śālagrāma śilā*, would suggest that the worship of the emblem of Nārāyaṇa may be particularly connected with the worship of Nārāyaṇa as a household deity. Some of the important socio-religious functions attributed to the emblem of Nārāyaṇa are connected with Vedic socio-religious rites which have survived among Hindus and with which Rudra-Śiva or Viṣṇu has no real connection. We would put forth the suggestion that the worship of Nārāyaṇa as a household deity and in connection with certain surviving Vedic socio-religious rites may perhaps be traced back to the tradition of the Nārāyaṇa who performed Vedic sacrifices (*pañcarātra sattra*) and was independent of, though identified with, Viṣṇu, and who was himself worshipped according to the Vedic rites, apparently modified to some extent, by king Vasu Uparicara. There is at least one evidence to show that the worship of Nārāyaṇa as a household deity with socio-religious functions was as early as the *Rāmāyaṇa*. At the bidding of king Daśaratha the priest informed Rāma that he was to fast along with Sītā to prepare for his installation the next day. After the priest had left Rāma worshipped Nārāyaṇa along with Jānakī with single-minded devotion. He offered oblations to fire in honour of the great god. Thereafter he ate the leavings of the offerings and prayed to Nārāyaṇa for his own welfare and meditating on him and observing silence retired to a bed of *kuśa*.[17] The fasting and worship of Nārāyaṇa are a preparation for the auspicious ceremony of installation as crown-prince are known as *adhivāsa*. This preparatory ceremony in which worship of Nārāyaṇa is an important part is performed in orthodox Brahmanical society even now before *upanayana*, marriage, *śrāddha* etc.[18]

17 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ajodhyā kāṇḍa, 6th sarga (Basumati Ed. Calcutta.)

18 In the interpolated 5th sarga in Uttara Kāṇḍa, Nārada gives an account of the Śvetadīpa, the abode of devout worshippers of Nārāyaṇa and there follows a frivolous account of Rāvaṇa's visit to it and his discomfiture at the hands of women there.

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III

Mention may now be made of some instances of folk-worship of Nārāyaṇa. The worship of Satya Nārāyaṇa which is specially prevalent in Bengal is perhaps an example of a folk cult thoroughly brahmanised.

The worship of Satya Nārāyaṇa as prescribed in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Revā khaṇḍa) furnishes a well-known instance of the worship of Nārāyaṇa as a domestic deity. The worship is performed on auspicious occasions and in fulfilment of vows made to the god.[19] He is represented by the *śālagrāma śilā*. The worship of Satya Nārāyaṇa is held to be specially suited for the Kali Yuga when men with their reduced vitality are incapable of austerities. The worship of Satya Nārāyaṇa as a folk god probably arose in mediaeval Bengal and a considerable literature in verse glorifying the god and testifying to the popularity of his worship came into being. The origin of this form of worship is perhaps indicated by the explanation offered by one of these poets that Nārāyaṇa became a *Pir* in the Kali age when the Yavanas became powerful and scoffed at Hindus.[20] The prevalence of the worship of Satya Nārāyaṇa and the fact that a Brahmaṇa always officiates as priest would go against the view of the late Dr. D. C. Sen that the worship of a saint or Pir among Moslems led to the adoption by Hindus of the saint and his deification as an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.[21] Satya Nārāyaṇa is a favourite deity of the Mangars of Nepal. Upādhyāya Brāhmaṇas officiate as priests.[22] The Beriyas in the U. P. worship him when a girl is prostituted for the first time.[23] He is also worshipped by the Binds and Koiris in the same province.[24] "Among many of the middle class Hindus when a man eats with a person who has offended against the rules of the caste or intrigues with a woman of another caste he is excommunicated until he has a recitation at his house of what is known as *Kath Satya Nārāyaṇa*." A Brahman is employed to do the worship.[25] The Mrung in Hill Tipperah and Chittagong Hill Tracts worship Satya Nārāyaṇa.[26] The Tharus worship him as giver of rains and harvest.[27] He is worshipped

19 *Kriyākāṇḍavāridhi*, vol. II, p. 512 (Basumati publication).

20 Kriparama, *Baṅga Sāhitya Paricaya* by D. C. Sen. Calcutta University.

21 D. C. Sen, *Folk Literature of Bengal*, p. 103.

22 H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. II, p. 75.

23 W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol., I, p. 246.

24 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 112.

25 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 293.

26 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 325.

27 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 398.

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as a household deity by the Patwa in the U. P.[28] There is a stray instance of the worship of Nārāyaṇa as a tutelary deity by the Doms in E. Bengal who hail from Bihar and the U. P. They offer him the blood of pig sacrificed and spirits.[29] Some tribes add the name Nārāyaṇa to the name of the sun worshipped by them probably as an honorific title. Thus the Velatis in Poona worship Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa[30] and the Kols in Mirzapur make obeisances to Sūraj-Nārāyaṇa[31].

IV

It has been observed that the worship of the *śālagrāma śilā* is probably of much later origin than the worship of the *liṅga*. It is perhaps contemporaneous with the worship of *vāṇa-liṅgas* which are mostly quartz pebbles found in the Narmadā or Revā river and according to the texts in Kashmir, Śrīśaila, etc.[32] As in the case of the *śālagrāma* no ceremony for *pratiṣṭhā, saṃskāra* or *āvāhana* is necessary in the case of *bāṇa-liṅgas*. According to the *Varāha Purāṇa* the connection between the Revā and *vāṇa liṅgas* is the same as the connection between the Gaṇḍakī and the *śālagrāma śilā*. Propitiated by the Revā Śiva granted her the boon that he would live in her womb in the form of *liṅga*, (*garbhe tava vasisyāmi putro bhutyā śivapriye*).[33] The name *bāṇa-liṅga* is explained as being due to association with the Vāṇa daitya, well known for his devotion to Śiva. Vāṇa prayed to Śiva for a *liṅga* for worship and Śiva gave him his emblem in quartz found in the Kailāśa. The reference in the *Mahābhārata* to the form of Viṣṇu known as *śālagrāma* would show that at least the name under which the aniconic representation of Nārāyaṇa is worshipped was known and its association with Nārāyaṇa was also recognised. Again, the explanation of the name *śālagrāma-kṣetra* as the place where Nārāyaṇa appeared in the form of a *śāl* tree in the *Varāha Purāṇa* would raise doubt regarding the first application of the name *śālagrāma* to the aniconic representation of Nārāyaṇa. No reference is found, so far as we know, in the Purāṇas regarding any connection between Nārāyaṇa and the *śāl* which is more associated with tribal religions. Among trees and plants with which Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa are associated are the *aśvattha, nyāgrodha, kadamba, nimba, tamāla, tulasī*, etc. Probably the legend is nothing more than an ingenuous attempt at interpretation of the word *śālagrāma* which literally means the village of the *śāl* tree. In the next place, while no difficulty need be felt in respect of

28 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
29 Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
30 *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, vol. XVIII, part I, p. 257.
31 Crooke, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 312.
32 *Yogasāra* quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, vol. I, p. 825.
33 *Varāha Purāṇa* quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, vol. II, p. 1516.

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appropriation of the *vāṇa-liṅga* as an emblem of Śiva because of the old cult of the *liṅga* the acceptance of the *śālagrāma śilā* as an emblem of Nārāyaṇa is not sufficiently accounted for. It is possible that the spiral grooves inside the hollow ammonite shells resembling *cakras* the special weapon or mark of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa led to the appropriation of the shells by the Vaiṣṇavas as emblems of their deity. The impetus to advancing such a claim probably came from a spirit of emulation, and also a desire for having an unostentatious, simple representation of the deity for the purpose of daily household worship.

The points of difference between the worship of the *śiva-liṅga* and the *śālagrāma śilā* which have been noted above are important. Only the twice-born castes are entitled to worship the *śālagrāma śilā* and Śudras and women of all castes are unfit to touch it. This ban not only on Śudras but also on women of all castes proclaim the purely Brahmanical origin of the worship which probably arose at a time when caste ideas had become exceedingly rigid. This exclusiveness is not only in striking contrast to the catholicity of the Śaivas who allow the *liṅga* to be touched by the Śūdras and all Hindus but is contrary also to the catholic spirit of the later Vaiṣṇavas whose general attitude is that even a Caṇḍāla devoted to Hari is more estimable than a Brāhmaṇa without *bhakti*. Enlarging on the merit of worshipping the *śālagrāma*, one text says that by worshipping it even a Kīkaṭa will go to the Baikuṇṭha.[34] The *praṇāma mantra* of the *śālagrāma* invokes the deity as a *Brahmaṇya deva*. Another point of difference is that while a *liṅga* may be made of earth, stone, quartz, gold, diamond etc. the *śālagrāma* is always flintified ammonite shells. This perhaps indicates that the cult of the *śālagrāma* has not evolved slowly and naturally like the cult of the *liṅga* but was introduced, it is not possible to say when and how, in a stereotyped form. The socio-religious functions attributed to Nārāyaṇa represented by the *śālagrāma*, particularly in Bengal, call for a remark. It does not appear that the *śālagrāma* has the same important functions among Hindus outside Bengal. How this special trait has been acquired in Bengal is a matter for investigation and perhaps the Bengal School of Smṛtis would give a clue to it. The *Brahamavaivarta Purāṇa* shows that the trait had been already acquired in some measure.

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

34 *Padma Purāṇa*, Pātāla kh., ch. 11.

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"Cheap the Magnificent"

Among the civil servants of the English East India Company on the commercial side in Bengal no one attracts our attention so much as John Cheap, rightly called "Cheap the Magnificent." His long and successful career, spent for the most part in a little frequented corner of the province, and the wealth and splendour associated with his name, were not only envied by his contemporaries but were recalled with admiration by the posterity. We get a short description of him in W. W. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, and another brief account in O'Malley's *Birbhum District Gazetteer*. Much more, however, still remains to be said about this mighty civilian.

John Cheap came to India as a member of the Bengal Civil Service at a comparatively early age. Towards the end of 1787, that is, after the enactment of the company's commercial regulations[1] of that year, he was appointed Commercial Resident of Sonamukhi to supervise the investment in the districts of Birbhum, Burdwan and Bishunpur.[2] He had his head-quarters at Surul,[3] a large and prosperous village in Birbhum. Under the Surul factory there was a number of subordinate *aurungs*[4] and receiving stations at different places.[5] One of these subordinate factories existed at Sonamukhi in the Bankura district, from which the residency took its name. The rest were situated at Kanchan-nagar,[6] Sonarundi[7], Kalna,[8] Patra-Sayer,[9] and Lelot.[10]

In his new situation Cheap found himself faced with certain difficulties. The weavers in general were unwilling to accept advances for piece-goods from the Commercial Resident owing to the oppres-

1 Weavers' Regulations passed on the 23rd July, 1787. These regulations provided that the Company's investment of piece-goods, was to be secured not through *dalals* or middlemen, as was the practice then, by issuing advances to the weavers direct through their civil servants employed as commercial agents in the different parts of the Presidency of Bengal.—Harington, *An Elementary Analysis of the Laws and Regulations*, vol. III, p. 593.

2 The district of Bankura was then known as Bishunpur.

3 In the neighbourhood of Santiniketan, about three miles west of Bolpur.

4 *Aurung*=a factory or godown.

5 Towards the end of the eighteenth century there were twelve receiving factories under Surul, the more important of which were situated at Dubrajpur Ilambazar, Dignagar, Mankar, Ramchandrapur and Haripur.—Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., March 20, 1794.

6 Near Burdwan.

7 A big village in the Katwa subdivision of the Burdwan district.

8 A sub-divisional headquarter station in the Burdwan district.

9 In the Bankura district.

10 Not identifiable

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sions they had lately suffered in the hands of the Company's *dalals*.[11] Moreover, they were then subject to three taxes, viz., the *Batta*, the *Kharcha*, and the *Ganda*.[12] The first of these the Resident did not consider himself authorised to interfere with at once.[13] But the *Kharcha*, which was a species of doccur to the servants of the *dalals*, he thought himself warranted by the regulations to annul immediately.[14] And he did so to the great relief of the manufacturers, who now readily took advances.[15] After examining into the claims of the *Ganda* and finding that the authority for its exaction was merely a *perwanna*[16] expressly stating that it was to be levied with the weavers' consent, he left it to their option.[17] And of course no one paid a single *cowrie* on account of it.[18] In the same way he arranged the *Batta* by "consolidating it in the value of goods in sicca rupees." These three arrangements of Cheap "kept the weavers in perfect good humour with the company's business" for nearly two years.[20]

At the end of the second year, however, the manufacturers complained that the great scarcity of yarn, and the high price of the necessaries of life made it extremely difficult for them to go on with their work.[21] They represented the matter before the Board of Trade and prayed that they might be given higher prices and that the number of pieces (of cloth) required of them might be reduced too.[22] Without granting these demands in toto, the Board directed that instead of yearly settlements hitherto made, two or three settlements might be made with the weavers "to accommodate the prices to the changing circumstances of the times."[23] In this manner the manufacturers continued to work for three years "not with that attention to the fabrics and engagements" as the Commercial Resident would have wished.[24] Naturally averse to prosecutions, Cheap tried to bring them to a different attitude by degrees instead of exacting penalties[25] from them for shirking the Company's business.[26]

11 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Aug., 5, 1794.

12 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., July 22, 1794:—Such exactions were not peculiar to Sonamukhi. The weavers of Malda and certain other places were also subject to similar taxes. Vide *Dinajpur District Records*, vol. I pp. 33 and 220.

13 Letter from John Cheap to Board of Trade, June 29, 1794 (Bengal Board of Trade—Commercial—Cons.—July 22, 1794).

14 *Ibid.* 15 *Ibid.* 16 A written order.

17 Letter to Board of Trade. June 29, 1794. 18 *Ibid.* 19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.* 21 *Ibid.* 22 *Ibid.* 23 *Ibid.* 24 *Ibid.*

25 It should be noted that under the weavers' regulations the Commercial Resident could prosecute, or impose penalties on, the weavers for non-fulfilment of their agreements.

26 Letter to Board of Trade, June 29, 1794.

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In the fifth year of his agency several persons, who had never worked for the Company, took advances from him, and early in 1793 a few more did so.[27] But shortly afterwards there was such an influx of private merchants that many of the weavers failed to fulfil their obligations to the Company.[28] To guard against the recurrence of this practice, Cheap thought it necessary to have written agreements from the weavers.[29] But at Sonamukhi and Patrasayer they would not for a long time comply with this demand.[30] It was then that as a last alternative the Resident tried the experiment of dismissing the weaver from the Company's employment.[31] But far from being considered as a punishment, it was largely embraced by the head weavers, who not only went away themselves, but dissuaded others from accepting advances from the Resident. To break the influence of these men, Cheap used both authority and tact, and as far as practicable, prevented the assembling of the weavers.[33] This he could manage with some success at Surul, but not at the out stations. Moreover, at Sonarundy the *izaradars*[34] and *mandals*[35] almost always created a misunderstanding between the Resident and the weavers because it was their interest to do so.[36] And indeed the former mode of conducting business at this *aurung* had been so oppressive that there were but few youngmen in that locality who carried on the weaving business, "their parents having given up teaching them, preferring their being employed in the fields to the risk of their suffering that they themselves had felt."[37]

During the last few years of the eighteenth century and towards the beginning of the nineteenth century the company's cloth investment in the commercial residency of Sonamukhi, as elsewhere, was also affected by the bad conditions of finance and currency at the time.[38] The increase in the number of ready money purchasers and

27 Letter to Board of Trade, June 29, 1794.

28 *Ibid.*—The great influx of private merchants was largely due to the partial opening of the East India trade to private enterprise by the Charter Act of 1793. See in this connection my article: "The Charter Act of 1793 and the outlines of British Commercial Policy in India during the next twenty years," —*Calcutta Review*, Nov. 1939, pp. 171-81.

29 Letter to Board of Trade, June 29, 1794. 30 *Ibid.* 31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*—The head weavers were at the head of the weavers' guilds. In almost all important areas there were such guilds in those days.

33 Letter to Board of Trade, June 29, 1794.

34 Lease-holders. 35 Village headmen.

36 Letter from John Cheap to Board of Trade, July 29, 1794 (Bengal Board of Trade Commercial—Cons., August 5, 1794). 37 *Ibid.*

38 *Vide* Home Dept. Public Cons. (Imperial Record Department), Aug., 22, 1796, No. 29; and April 6, 1798, Nos. 2 and 3.

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the higher rates paid by them, together with the continued high price of cotton, made confusion worse confounded.[39] In these circumstances, Cheap was compelled to raise the Company's rates to the weavers for cloth, though it was not very encouraging.[40] The weavers no doubt showed their willingness to supply coarse cloth to the Company; but they were still reluctant to weave finer goods, which brought them much less profit owing to the scarcity of fine yarn and the consequent increase in its price.[41] To encourage the supply of finer yarn to the weavers, the Commercial Resident began the practice of paying a few annas to the spinners by way of reward, whenever they brought any considerable good, even, yarn in the market.[42] This measure was somewhat successful at Patrasayer from where the long cloths were chiefly obtained.[43] On the whole in spite of various difficulties Cheap was able to provide during these years considerable quantities of Birbhum *garahs*, a species of coarse calico, which had a demand in Europe and America, as well as in the Asiatic and African markets.[44]

Cotton piece-goods were, however, not the only kind of investment from the commercial residency of Sonamukhi. It provided almost regular supplies of shellac, gunnies and sugar. Gunnies were manufactured at Kanchannagar,[45] while shellac was made both at Surul and Sonamukhi.[46] According to a report of the Company's Inspector in Calcutta, Surul shellac was of an excellent quality.[47] The investment of sugar was obtained partly by contract with individuals and partly by manufacturing it in the Company's factories. At Surul there was a sugar factory called *Chotakothi*, as distinguished from the *Barakothi* or cloth factory.[48] There was a similar factory for sugar manufacture at Kanchannagar.[49]

39 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Nov. 11, 1800.

40 *Ibid.* 41 *Ibid.*

42 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. May 12, 1797. 43 *Ibid.*

44 In 1795 about 1,30,000 pieces of Birbhum cloth were exported from Calcutta to the different parts of Europe and America, exclusive of what were sent to the United Kingdom (Bengal Board of Trade Commercial Cons., June 21, 1796). About 2,000 pieces of *garha* and from 300 to 1,200 pieces of *dussooti* (double thread cloth) were annually exported from the commercial residency of Sonamukhi about this time to the Cape of Good Hope. (Home Dept. Pub. Cons., May 1, 1798 No. 6; and May 22, 1800, No. 16).

45 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Nov., 11 1800.

46 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Nov. 14, 1800.

47 *Ibid.* 48 *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. XXV, p. 85.

49 Home Dept. Pub. Cons., May 2, 1796, No. 12; Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Nov., 11, 1800.

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As regards contract sugar, it may be noted that the following rates were settled by the Commercial Resident with the *pykars* (whole-sale traders) for its supply in 1793.[50]

Birbhum sugar	...	...	Rs. 6-12-0 per maund
Burdwan sugar	...	...	Rs. 7- 6-0 per maund
Bishunpur sugar	...	...	Rs. 7- 8-0 per maund

Cheap observed in a letter to the Board of Trade, dated the 17th November, 1793, that "the prohibition of making advances direct to the ryots threw the detail of that essential part into the hands of *Pykars*, sugar boilers and others who only entered into engagements late in the season, long after the crop had been planted out, and therefore from the issue of the money, the ryot derived no assistance, to extend his cultivation."[51] But the Board did not favour the idea of direct dealings with the cane-growers. However, in 1794 the Company ordered for 25,000 maunds of sugar from the residency of Sonamukhi,[52] probably the largest quantity ever ordered from there. Birbhum sugar was not only comparatively cheap in its price but enjoyed good reputation in the European market. But the demand for Bengal sugar in Great Britain fell off after a few years and regular advances for the article were suspended for a long time. Subsequently when the demand revived and increased, Cheap once again turned his attention to the sugar investment, and introduced some improvement in sugar manufacture by means of apparatus brought from Europe.[53]

Much more important than the sugar investment was the Company's supply of raw silk obtained from Birbhum. Down to the year 1807 it was supplied by Mr. Frushard, a private trader who had erected a huge factory at Ganutia on the river Mor for the purpose.[54] On his death in 1807, Cheap obtained a lease of the Ganutia factory at an annual rental of 3,415 rupees from the Company, who purchased it at 15,800 rupees.[55] In 1808 he supplied 459 maunds of raw silk to the Company, and in 1813 the quantity supplied exceeded 1250 maunds.[56] Indeed right upto 1833, in which year the Company ceased to be a trading corporation, Ganutia occupied a pre-eminent position among the silk producing centres in Bengal.[57] The quality

50 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., May 30, 1793.
51 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Nov., 21, 1793.
52 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., March 13, 1794.
53 *Birbhum District Gazetteer*, p. 22.
54 G. Mitra, *Birbhumer Itihas*, II, pp. 12-18. 55 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
56 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Oct. 8, 1819.
57 Thus in 1827 the Board of Trade allotted 6,50,000 *sicca* rupees for Ganutia silk. *Vide* Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. Jan. 27, 1827.

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of Ganutia silk was also very good. In 1819 the Court of Directors remarked that the silk of this filature proved in general of excellent colour and quality, free, tolerably clean and well reeled."[58] Lately, however, its quality so much deteriorated that the Commercial Resident observed "that the Gonatea Cocoons are decidedly the worst in the country."[59] He ascribed it to the scanty feeding of the silk worms in consequence of the huge increase in the supply of silk without a corresponding increase in the extent of mulberry cultivation.[60]

Among his works of a more durable nature, may be mentioned the construction of practically the only good roads in Birbhum and the introduction of indigo manufacture into the district.[61] In 1814 the Government of Bengal sanctioned the sum of 8,750 *sicca* rupees for the building of a road from Surul to Burdwan and a further sum of 1,500 *sicca* rupees for the construction of another road from the bank of the river Ajoy.[62] Cheap, however, was not a man to depend wholly on Government grants for the purpose. "It shall be my constant endeavour," he wrote, "to increase the facilities of communication, the beneficial effects of which are obvious to all."[63] And he took written agreements from the *pykars*, binding themselves to contribute half an anna per seer from the value of the silk deliveries of any one season in the year towards the expenses of road-making.[64] Two other important roads, besides those mentioned above, were constructed by him, viz., one leading from Surul to Ganutia and the other from Surul to Katwa.[65]

Besides supervising the Company's investments, from which he drew an annual commission of twenty to thirty thousand rupees,[66] Cheap also carried on business on his private account. For a long time he was associated with another gentleman, Mr. Erskine of Ilambazar,[67] and they jointly traded in cloths, silk, sugar, indigo, etc.[68] From 1823 on he lived mostly at Ganutia;[69] for the Company's factory at Surul had to be wound up owing to the complete discontinuance of the cloth investment. He died at Ganutia

58 Extract of a Commercial General letter from Court, Jan. 27, 1819.
59 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Jan. 30, 1827.
60 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Oct. 8, 1819.
61 *Birbhum District Gazetteer*, p. 22.
62 Home Dept. Pub. Cons., March 25, 1814.
63 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., March 5, 1820.
64 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Sept 30, 1820.
65 G. Mitra, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 10.
66 Bengal Board of Trade (Com.) Cons., March 27, 1794; and July 26, 1817.
67 A place about 8 miles West-South-West of Surul.
68 W. W Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p 423.
69 G. Mitra, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11.

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in 1828 at the age of sixty-two, and his tomb on the factory ground still enshrines his memory.[70]

One of the ablest and most successful civilians of his days, John Cheap was a man of sound common sense, bold and assertive to a degree. He was the last person to tolerate any insinuation against, or any undue interference with, his conduct of the company's business from the higher authorities; and his letters to the Board of Trade were generally couched in very strong terms. He often took the law in his own hand, as is proved by his annexation in 1825 of the Rangamati[71] *aurung*, which had almost fallen into disuse for some years past.[72] In dealing with the manufacturers he had recourse to diplomacy as well as coercion. He zealously guarded their interests against exacting landlords and, as we have seen, freed them from the obligation of paying certain taxes, to which they had long been subject. His competence is sufficiently proved by the fact that unlike other officers he was retained in the same old station for the greatest part of his official career. He was fond of pomp and splendour, and we are informed by Ramghulam Bawarchi[73] that he lived in a stately house at Surul, which stood on the top of a hillock, surrounded by a wall all round, "higher than the ramparts round the port of Calcutta."[74] He had about sixty house servants with many horses and an aviary full of birds.[75] "Deer used to run about in the pleasure grounds."[76]

As head of the Company's commercial affairs at Surul, Cheap had great influence over the local and neighbouring population. He held an unofficial court, the villagers referring their disputes to his arbitration. "In such matters the law gave Mr. Cheap no power, but in the absence of efficient courts, public opinion had accorded jurisdiction to any influential person who chose to assume it, and the Commercial Resident's decision was speedy, inexpensive and usually just."[77]

HARI RANJAN GHOSAL.

70 G. Mitra, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11. 71 In the Murshidabad district.

72 Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Feb. 13, 1827.

73 Ramghulam Bawarchi was a cook in the employment of Mr. Cheap. At the age of eighty he was questioned by Mr. Hunter regarding the past history of Birbhum, and the Cooks' Chronicle in the appendix to *Rural Bengal* gives an interesting account of Mr. Cheap.

74 *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 423 75 *Ibid.* 76 *Ibid.*

77 Quoted in *Birbhum District Gazetteer*, p. 21

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The Afghan War of Succession (1863-1869)

The Rivals

Dost Muhammad, the able ruler of Afghanistan, after wresting Herat from Persia, died on 9th June 1863.[1] His death ushered in an era of turmoil and civil war and it was only after prolonged conflict that Sher Ali, the heir-apparent emerged triumphant out of the struggle. Of Dost Muhammad's sixteen sons, five played an important part in the civil war—Afzal Khan and Azim Khan, sons of one mother and Sher Ali, Amin Khan and Sharif Khan, sons of another mother.[2] Afzal Khan, the eldest of Dost Muhammad's sons was a veteran soldier and had established his military reputation by gaining important victories in Tashkurghan and Badakhshan.[3] He was the Governor of the territory lying between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus, i.e., Balkh.[4] Afzal Khan's son Abdur Rehman was also an able and energetic administrator and gained valuable experience of military tactics by his campaigns against the rough tribes of Badakhshan.[5] Afzal was still at Takhtapul when Dost Muhammad died.[6] Azim Khan was gifted with a dignified and commanding personality.[7] "Little, if at all inferior to Afzal Khan as a soldier, he was incomparably Afzal Khan's superior in statecraft."[8] That he did not lack political foresight is clear from the fact that in 1857 when Dost Muhammad was being urged by the warlike party to declare war against the English, Azim persuaded the Ameer to remain faithful to the British alliance.[9] He was the Governor of Khurm and Khost, adjoining the Indian frontier.[10] He had accompanied Dost Muhammad to Herat.[11] The other three princes—Sher Ali, Amin Khan and Sharif Khan—had also accompanied their father to Herat.[12] Sharif Khan, Governor of Farrah and Girishk was a fine dashing soldier but unstable in character; he changed sides frequently.[13] Amin Khan, Governor of Candahar was "a bold, impetuous man, who always took the shortest road to his object, and suffered no temptation or obstacle to baulk his

1 Sher Ali to Peshwar Commissioner (henceforth abbreviated as Pesh. Com.) 12 June 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1863; No. 92.
2 Sykes, *History of Afghanistan*, ii, p. 71.
3 Mir Munshi, *Life of Abdur Rehman*, vol. I, ch. I.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 Wyllie, *Essays on the External Policy of India*, p. 25.
7 Lumsden, *Mission to Kandahar*, p. 8.
8 Wyllie, p. 25.
9 Lumsden, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
10 Cabul Diary 21 to 24 Aug. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1863; No. 59.
11 Wyllie, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*

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purpose."[14] Sher Ali inherited the genius of his father. "Both as a soldier and as an administrator he approached most nearly to the greatest of the Barucksyes."[15]

The beginning of the civil war

Dost Muhammad had selected Sher Ali as his successor.[16] Though Sher Ali became the Ameer of Afghanistan, feverish preparations were afoot for the decisive issue of the impending civil war. The Government of India wanted to keep aloof from the internal politics of Afghanistan and therefore instructed the Punjab Government to warn the Vakeel "to abstain from acts which in the present uncertainty as to the establishment of any efficient authority in succession to Dost Muhammad's could be held to commit the British Government to the support of any of the rival candidates for power."[17] Sher Ali faced with the prospect of a prolonged civil war, naturally wanted to maintain friendly relations with the British Government and wrote to the Commissioner, Peshawar Division—"I will retain my father's excellent custom of preserving friendship and alliance with the British Government and strengthen it during my life."[18] Sher Ali was assured that the British Government participated in his desire for friendly relations.[19]

The Civil War began soon after the accession of Sher Ali to the throne of Afghanistan. Leaving his third son, Yakoob Khan, in command at Herat, Sher Ali returned by forced marches to the eastern parts of his dominions.[20] Nor was his promptitude unnecessary. Shareef Khan, dissatisfied at not obtaining Herat, retired to Girishk and Furruh with hostile intentions.[21] Amin Khan fled to Candahar to organise resistance against the authority of Sher Ali.[22] Afzal Khan wrote to Sher Ali to send Azim at the head of a large force to help him in consolidating his power in Turkistan.[23] Sher Ali naturally refused to strengthen the power of his chief enemy—Afzal, and Azim fled to his provinces—Khost and Khoorm to await Afzal's approach

14 Wyllie, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

15 Boulger, *Central Asian Portraits*, p. 52. 16 Wyllie, p. 27.

17 Govt. of India to Punjab Govt. 3 July 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1863; No. 88.

18 Sher Ali to Pesh. Com., 12 June 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1863; No. 92.

19 Denison's Khureeta to Sher Ali 8 Dec. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 287.

20 Boulger, *England and Russia in Central Asia*, ii, p. 175.

21 Diary 3 to 6 July 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1863; No. 95.

22 Diary 18 to 21 Sep. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 284.

23 Diary 17 to 20 July 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1863; No. 98.

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from Turkistan.[24] The struggle really hinged on the mastery of Cabul. Sher Ali acted with great energy and promptitude. Marching against Azim in Gurdez,[25] Sher Ali patched up a truce with him,[26] and then advanced on Cabul unopposed and occupied it.[27] Afzal, whether from fear of losing his hold on Turkistan or from want of vigour, had abstained from advancing on Cabul when it was unoccupied.[28] The first round of the struggle ended in favour of Sher Ali and the Cabul Vakeel wrote rather confidently—"the Ameer's prospects are at present good,"[29]

The Peshawar Conference, April, 1864

Sher Ali had by his energy and promptitude gained the mastery of Cabul. If the British Government had at that time recognised Sher Ali as the *de facto* ruler and lent him their moral support, Sher Ali's position would have been considerably strengthened and he might have been enabled to establish firmly his authority in Afghanistan. This policy was advocated by the Chief Commissioner, Peshawar, in the following significant words:—"What appears to me the evil of our not acknowledging the *de facto* ruler of the country is, that the other Sirdars, to whom the fact of our keeping the matter in suspense is well known, will be inclined to think that we have other intentions; that we have, in fact, selected some successor other than the present one whom we mean to favour; and such a belief can only foster distrust and dissension, while it will greatly weaken the present Amir's hands."[30] Sher Ali was much dissatisfied at the rigid policy of neutrality adopted by the British Government. He spoke to the Vakeel about the Treaty entered into by Dost Muhammad with the English and remarked that the British Government made treaties which suited their own views merely, and were of no advantage to the Cabul State.[31] The Vakeel rejoined that the advantages to Cabul were very marked during the siege of Herat.[32] He further remarked that if the Cabul territories were invaded by Persia or Russia, the British Government would carry out their arrangements.[33] The Ameer replied, that the British Government in these extraneous concerns always had a primary view to their own interests to the neglect of those of Cabul;

24 Diary 21 to 24 Aug. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1863; No. 59.
25 Diary 29 to 31 Aug. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1863; No. 62.
26 Diary 4 to 7 Sep. 1863; Pol A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 280.
27 Diary 18 to 21 Sep. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 284.
28 *Ibid.*
29 *Ibid.*
30 Pesh. Com. to Punjab Govt. 14 Nov. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 286.
31 Diary 23 to 26 Oct. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 291.
32 *Ibid.*
33 *Ibid.*

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he further said that the existing relations between the two Governments were not satisfactory.[34] On 8th December 1863 Sir W. Denison despatched a khureeta to Sher Ali conveying the British Government's formal recognition of his succession to the throne of Afghanistan.[35] In order to strengthen still further the friendly relations with the British Government, Sher Ali wrote to the Peshawar Commissioner on 20th January, 1864 to arrange an interview with his representative Rufeek Khan.[36] The Punjab Government authorized the Commissioner to arrange for his interview.[37] Rufeek Khan and Gholam Hosein Khan, the British Vakeel, had an interview at Peshawar in April 1864 with Major James, the Commissioner, Peshawar Division.[38] The envoy made three chief proposals—a new treaty of friendship, a loan of 6,000 muskets, and the recognition of the Ameer's son Mohammad Ali as heir-apparent.[39] The Government of India did not agree to the first two proposals, thus adhering strictly to the policy of neutrality.[40] The third point being a minor one, was conceded.[41] Thus the negotiations for a closer alliance broke down and Sher Ali therefore showed considerable favour to an envoy from the Shah of Persia who had come through Herat to Cabul.[42] The Commissioner of the Peshawar Division was very nervous lest disappointed at securing the active support of the British Government, Sher Ali might purchase Persian aid against his enemies by the surrender of Herat to Persia.[43] But Sher Ali would not have purchased Persian support in return for Herat except only in the last extremity and in the spring of 1864 there was every chance of his gaining victory over his rivals.

Consolidation of the power of Sher Ali

When the severe winter of Afghanistan changed into spring, the rivals prepared for the struggle. The truce with Azim was ended.[44] Ameen Khan and Shureef Khan formed an alliance against Sher Ali.[45] Afzal Khan sent an envoy to the King of Bokhara for a friendly

34 Diary 23 to 26 Oct. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 291.

35 Khureeta to Sher Ali 8 Dec. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 287.

36 Vakeel to Pesh. Com., 20 Jan. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1864; No. 150.

37 Punjab Govt. to Govt. of India 12 Feb. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1864; No. 149.

38 James to Punjab Govt. 2 Apl. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; May 1864; No. 77.

39 *Ibid.*

40 Govt. of India to Punjab Govt. 4 May 1864; Pol. A. Progs; May 1864; No. 81.

41 *Ibid.*

42 Pesh. Com. to Punjab Govt. 13 Apl. Pol. A. Progs; May 1864; No. 90.

43 *Ibid.*

44 Diary 4 to 7 Dec. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 298.

45 Diary 18 to 21 Dec. 1863; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1864; No. 301.

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alliance and proposed to make over Koondoz to Meer Ataleek, its Uzbeg chief; thus after securing his hold on Turkistan, he intended to launch the attack on Cabul in the spring of 1864.[46] Sher Ali took energetic steps to break this strong coalition which had been formed against him. He sent reinforcement to Ahmad Khan, the Governor of Dasht Soofaid, in order to check the advance of Afzal on Cabul.[47] An effective blow was struck against Azim, whose forces were routed in Koorum by Muhammad Rufeek, the ablest general of Sher Ali.[48] Azim sought refuge in British territory and was assigned an asylum at Rawalpindi.[49] This important victory unnerved the other members of the coalition; Ameen Khan who had made arrangements to march to Cabul with his troops remained quietly at Candahar when he heard of Azim's disastrous defeat.[50] Sher Ali's masterly strategy bore fruit; his plan of campaign was to hold Afzal's army in check until the less dangerous rising under Azim had been quelled and then to smash the advancing army of Afzal with all the available forces. Rufeek's victory over Azim helped Sher Ali to send timely reinforcements to Muhammad Ali, the heir-apparent, in the keenly contested battle which was fought at Bajgah on 3rd June 1864.[51] Muhammad Ali gained the victory but Afzal received further reinforcements.[52] Better sense however prevailed and reconciliation was effected between Afzal and Sher Ali.[53] Sher Ali and Afzal proceeded to Turkistan and arrived at Tashkurghan on 16th July 1864.[54] It was agreed that Afzal should retain Turkistan with the loss of Koondoz, Kataghan and Meimana.[55] Abdur Rahman set to work to strengthen his power and resolved not to pay respects to the Ameer; he had with him 12,000 veteran troops of Turkistan at Tukhtapool.[56] Later on he changed his mind and came to pay respects to the Ameer.[57]

46 Diary 1 to 4 Jan. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1864; No. 203.

47 Diary 29 March to 4 Apl. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; May 1864; No. 90.

48 Diary 6 to 9 May 1864; Pol. A. Progs; June 1864; No. 41.

49 Pesh. Com. to Punjab Govt. 24 May 1864; Pol. A. Progs; June 1864; No. 107.

50 Diary 21 to 23 June 1864; Pol. A. Progs; July 1864; No. 28.

51 Diary 7 to 13 June 1864; Pol. A. Progs; July 1864; No. 25.

52 *Ibid.*

53 Ameer of Cabul to Pesh. Com. 3 July 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Aug. 1864; No. 40.

54 Diary 25 to 28 July 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1864; No. 1.

55 Diary 12 to 14 Aug. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; No. 5. And telegram from Punjab Govt. to Govt. of India 24 Aug. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1864; No. 6.

56 Diary 23 Aug. to 1 Sep. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1864; No. 1.

57 Diary 23 Aug. to 1 Sep. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1864; No. 8.

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But though the reconciliation was effected, the Ameer's suspicions were aroused by the activities of Abdul Rahman.[58] Sher Ali ordered Abdur Rahman to proceed to Cabul[59] but Fyz Muhammad and Abdur Rahman fled towards Bokhara.[60] Sher Ali imprisoned Afzal, though only two days before the Ameer had solemnly sworn on the Koran in the shrine at Mazar Shureef to be true to his brother.[61] Sher Ali proceeded from Tashkurghan to Tukhtapool to arrange for the confiscation of Afzal's property and the sending of the Sirdar's family to Cabul.[62] After appointing Futteh Muhammad Khan Governor of Turkistan,[63] Sher Ali returned to Cabul on 25th November 1864.[64]

British policy of non-Interference

By November 1864 Sher Ali had emerged triumphant out of the struggle and Lord Lawrence wrote to him cordially on 23rd December 1864—"I hope that the present goodwill between the British Government and that of Your Highness may endure for ever."[65] But how much goodwill actually existed will be clear from a minor incident which occurred in February 1865. With reference to the application of Azim Khan to be allowed to leave the British territory and his letter on the subject of some provision to be made for him, the Peshawar Commissioner directed the Moonshee at Cabul to ascertain the Ameer's views.[66] When the Moonshee brought this subject to the notice of Sher Ali, he replied angrily "that the British Government appeared to him to wish to interfere in his country, and that he had no intention of giving an inch of land nor a fraction of money to Azim; that British Government might afford overt or secret aid, and let the Sirdar go or let him go free without it."[67] The Punjab Government instructed the Peshwar Commissioner to assure the Ameer that the British authorities would not knowingly permit Azim or any other guest to carry on, while residing in British territory, intrigues against the Cabul Government.[68] The Government

58 Telegram from Punjab Government to Government of India 10 Sep. 1864; Pol. A. Progs Oct. 1864; No. 9.

59 *Ibid.*

60 Telegram from D.C., Peshawar, to Punjab Government 19 Sep. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1864; No. 11.

61 Pesh. Com. to Punjab Govt. 22 Sep. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1864; No. 12

62 Telegram from D.C., Peshawar to Punjab Govt. 19 Sep. 1864; *op. cit.*

63 Diary 1 to 3 Nov. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1864; No. 245.

64 Diary 151 to 17 Nov. 1864; Pol. A. Prgs; Dec. 1864; No. 136.

65 Khureeta to Sher Ali 23 Dec. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Dec. 1864; No. 176.

66 Pesh. Com. to Punjab Govt. 13 Feb. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; March 1865; No. 79.

67 Moonshee to Pesh. Com. 6 Feb. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; March 1865; No. 79.

68 Punj. Govt. to Pesh. Com. 22 Feb. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; March 1865; No. 79.

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of India were of opinion that the Commisioner had committed an indiscretion in addressing the Ameer at all on the subject of a maintenance for Azim.[69] In fact the Government of India took particular care not to give any cause of offence to the Ameer by encouraging in any way his enemies.. The Government of India warned Azim not to abuse the privilege of asylum when his secret correspondence inimical to the Ameer of Cabul was intercepted.[70] Similarly when Uslum Khan and two others, half-brothers of the Ameer of Cabul, arrived at Kohat as refugees, Lord Lawrence wrote to the Punjab Government that it was "inexpedient to encourage the resort of the discontended chiefs of the Ameer's family to British territory. The Ameer cannot fail to watch with jealous suspicion any protection granted to his political opponents."[71] Again when the Candahar Chiefs who were hostile to Sher Ali[72] sent a mission consisting of two Candahar Vakeels with presents and letters to the British Government, the Bombay Government instructed Sir Henry Green, the Political Superintendent, Upper Sind Frontier to give a civil answer but to avoid anything approaching countenance to the enemies of Sher Ali.[73] The Government of India instructed the Bombay Government to explain clearly to the Candahar chiefs that no presents would be accepted from the messengers and no mission would be received in future.[74] The Government of India explained their policy in unequivocable terms as follows :— "His Excellency in Council would gladly see both the contending parties living at peace with each other. But the Treaty relations of the British Government are with the Ameer, and it cannot consent to recognize in any way the independence of any of his relations, or to give any countenance to proceedings having for their object the assertion and establishment of such independence."[75]

Sher Ali's brilliant success—a prelude to his downfall

Meanwhile Sher Ali had yet to face the hostility of Ameen Khan and Shureef Khan who made active preparations for war in Candahar.[76] But as winter had set in, hostilities were postponed till

69 Govt. of India to Punjab Govt. 9 March 1865; Pol. A. Progs; March 1865; No. 80.

70 Govt. of India to Punjab Govt. 11 Feb. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1865; No. 106.

71 Govt. of India to Punjab Govt. 27 Jan. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1865; No. 165.

72 Diary 25 to 28 Nov. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Dec. 1864; No. 178.

73 Bom. Govt. to Govt. of India 21 Apl. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 11.

74 Govt. of India to Bom. Govt. 4 May 1865; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 13.

75 *Ibid.*

76 Diary 25 to 28 Nov. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Dec. 1864; No. 178.

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the advent of spring in 1865. Hostilities were commenced in the middle of March 1865 when the Candahar forces under Jalal-ood-Deen Khan besieged Khelat-i-Ghilzie.[77] Azim who had escaped from British territory held the fort of Durgai with a force of Wuzzeerees.[78] When Sher Ali came to know that Ameen and Shureef intended to advance against Khelat-in-Ghilzie to reinforce the besieging force, he sent the heir-apparent at the head of a large force to relieve Khelat.[79] Sher Ali's strategy aimed at reinforcing the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzie and after crushing Azim's opposition to effect a junction with the forces of the heir-apparent at Khelat-i-Ghilzie and then with the combined forces to advance on Candahar.[80] The plan succeeded wonderfully well. The Candahar besieging forces under Jelal-ood-Deen were defeated by the garrison of Khelat on 28th March 1865.[81] Muhammad Rufeek crushed Azim's opposition in Khost.[82] And then the rival forces converged on Khelat-i-Ghilzie for the final struggle. Ameen and Shureef marched out of Candahar at the head of a large force.[83] Rufeek hurried from Khost to effect a junction with the Ameer near Ghaznee.[84] And then was fought one of the most keenly contested battles in the history of Afghanistan—the battle of Kujhbaz near Khelat-i-Ghilzie on 6th June 1865.[85] Sher Ali ordered an advance from both flanks; he directed the heir-apparent to advance against Ameen and ordered Rufeek to attack Shureef.[86] The battle lasted for four hours; at last Sher Ali came to the assistance of the heir-apparent, who was rather hard pressed.[87] The fight raged on all sides and the heir-apparent and Ameen found themselves face to face. The two chiefs fell wounded to death within a few paces of each other.[88] The Candahar force was routed.[89] But Sher Ali wrote a pathetic letter to the Governor of Cabul—"The grief I feel for the loss of my son has clouded all the joy of victory."[90] Sher Ali entered Candahar on 14th June 1865. Shureef and the other Candahari Sirdars came out to meet the Ameer and tendered their submission.[91]

Sher Ali's brilliant victory however proved to be a prelude to his downfall. Trouble was brewing in Turkistan. Abdur Rehman, who had secured the active support of the Shah of Bokhara,[92] was waiting

77 Diary 17 to 20 March 1865; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 31.
78 Diary 18 to 20 Apl. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 133.
79 *Ibid.* 80 *Ibid.*
81 Diary 31 March to 3 Apl. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 35.
82 Diary 21 to 24 Apl. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 174.
83 Diary 25 to 27 Apl. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 176.
84 Diary 28 Apl. to 1 May 1865; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 243.
85 Rufeek to Cabul Moonshee 12 June 1865; Pol. A. Progs; July 1865; No. 2.
86 *Ibid.* 87 *Ibid.* 88 *Ibid.* 89 *Ibid.* 90 *Ibid.* 91 *Ibid.*
92 Diary 15 to 17 Nov. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; Dec. 1864; No. 136.

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for an opportunity to advance on Turkistan. The opportunity came in August 1865 when Fyz Muhammad induced the troops of Tukhtapool to rise in rebellion against the authority of the Ameer.[93] When Futteh Muhammad, Governor of Turkistan marched towards Akcha to put down the rebellion, his troops suddenly mutinied near Tukhtapool.[94] He fled to Ghoree.[95] Abdur Rehman and Fyz Muhammad soon succeeded in bringing Turkistan under their control.[96] Abdur Rehman sent a large force from Tukhtapool for attacking Ghoree.[97] Futteh Muhammud beat a hasty retreat to Cabul.[98] Azim started from Teerah by Bajour for Turkistan.[99] He hoped to meet Afzal near Ghoree.[100] The approach of Afzal's army near Ghoree considerably alarmed Rufeek who urgently wrote to Sher Ali at Candahar to repair to Cabul "so that your friends may rejoice and your enemies be downcast: without your presence the expedition against Turkistan seems hopeless."[101] Unfortunately Sher Ali's mind had been so affected by the tragic death of the heir-apparent that he could not bring his thoughts to bear on the affairs of state.[102] A great battle with the most powerful of his rivals—Abdur Rehman—was about to take place and yet at that critical moment, when his presence would have given confidence to his troops, he decided to let matters drift and did not stir from Candahar. Sher Ali had soon occasion to repent of his wrong decision to stay at Candahar. Wullee Muhammad, Governor of Cabul, being the brother of Faiz Muhammad, the staunch ally of Afzal, was replaced by Muhammud Ibrahim Khan, son of Sher Ali.[103] Ibrahim proved very tactless and not only imprisoned Wullee Muhammad but also insulted Rufeek Khan, Sher Ali's most reputed general.[104] Rufeek threw off his allegiance to the Ameer.[105] Ibrahim urged the Ameer to march to Cabul at the head of a large force.[106] But while Afzal's forces were making their way to Cabul, the greatest confusion prevailed in Cabul.[107] When Ibrahim was in-

93 Diary 8 to 10 Aug. 1965; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1865; No. 15.
94 Diary 11 to 14 Aug. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1865; No. 16.
95 Diary 22 to 24 Aug. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1865; No. 34.
96 Diary 11 to 14 Aug. 1865; *op. cit.*
97 Diary 22 to 24 Aug. 1865; *op. cit.*
98 Diary 1 to 4 Sep. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1865; No. 116.
99 Diary 22 to 25 Sep. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1865; No. 70.
100 *Ibid.*
101 *Ibid*
102 Diary 8 to 11 Sep. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1865; No. 115.
103 Diary 5 to 7 Sep. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1865; No. 117.
104 Diary 13 to 15 Oct. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1865; No. 31.
105 Diary 16 Oct. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1865; No. 32.
106 Diary 17 to 19 Oct. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1865; No. 33.
107 Diary 31 Oct. to 2 Nov. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1865; No. 199.

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formed that the army of Turkistan had arrived at Kurra Kotul on 28th October and would be reaching Bamean on 2nd November, he directed Futteh Muhammad to proceed to Chareekar while he himself would proceed towards Bamean.[108] But after some time the plan of checking the advance of Afzal's army was changed. It was decided that on account of deficiency of munitions of war it would not be wise to send a force to Bamean.[109] It would be more prudent to advance the force only a few miles from Cabul.[110] On 9th November 1865 the Turkish army entered Bamean.[111] Azim arrived at Bamean and thus strengthened the forces of Abdur Rehman who on 30th November 1865 marched towards Chareekar on the road to Cabul.[112] Ibrahim was encamped at Killa Kazee.[113] On 26th December 1865 a truce was made—both sides were compelled by the severity of the season to come to terms.[114] Ibrahim refused to give up Cabul but agreed to Azim and Abdur Rehman keeping their forces at Jelallabad until the spring.[115] But with the advent of spring the advance guard of the Turkish army entered the environs of Cabul on 24th February 1866.[116] Ibrahim retreated to Bala Hissar.[117] He was engaged in preparing for the defence of the citadel.[118] But in March 1866 Cabul fell into the hands of Azim's party.[119] A truce was made—Ibrahim and his family were allowed to leave Cabul.[120] The lack of energy shown by Sher Ali in moving from Candahar, the administrative incapacity of Muhammud Ibrahim Khan, the defection of Rufeek Khan combined with the masterly way in which Abdur Rehman planned and executed the attack on Cabul, resulted in an overwhelming disaster to Sher Ali.

British attitude towards the rival factions

The Moonshee at Cabul congratulated Azim on his conquest of Afghanistan and presented a Sar Nisar.[121] The Government of India

108 Diary 31 Oct. to 2 Nov. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1865; No. 199.
109 Diary 3 to 6 Nov. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Nov. 1865; No. 224.
110 *Ibid.* 111 Diary 11 to 13 Nov. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Dec. 1865; No. 21.
112 Diary 1 to 4 Dec. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1866; No. 19. 113 *Ibid.*
114 Diary 25 to 28 Dec. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1866; No. 187.
115 Diary 22 to 24 Dec. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1866; No. 185.
116 Diary 24 to 25 Feb. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Mar. 1866; No. 205.
117 Diary 21 to 23 Feb. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Mar. 1866; No. 203.
118 *Ibid.*
119 Telegram from Punjab Government to Government of India 12 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; March 1866; No. 78.
120 Letter from Moonshee 2 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; 1866; No. 209.
121 Telegram from Punjab Government to Government of India 13 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; March 1866; No. 79.

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ordered the recall of the Moonshee for having recognized Azim ruler of Afghanistan without waiting for the instructions of Government.[122] The Government of India gave the following instructions to the Punjab Government—"so long as the present Ameer continues in power, this Government must recognize him as *de facto* chief of Afghanistan."[123] After sometime the Government of India approved the policy of not recalling the Cabul Moonshee as his recall might perhaps be misinterpreted as an act of unnecessary hostility to the party of Azim.[124] On 24th March 1866 the Government of India explained their policy regarding the overtures of Sirdar Futteh Muhammad Khan from Jelalabad for help to Sher Ali—"His Excellency observes that it might be a question whether the British Government ought to help the Ameer by giving him money to attempt the recovery of Cabul. If he is really in his right mind, he may yet succeed in overpowering the rival faction, for he is a man of vigour and capacity, superior in these respects to his brothers. But his success is more than doubtful, for he has alienated most of the chiefs, and some of his best troops have been lost to him. On the other hand, it is impossible to say which of the rival chieftains will be able to place himself permanently at the head of affairs. The Governor General in Council is not therefore, in favour of giving the Ameer any assistance. The Ameer was never really friendly to the British Government, and Muhammad Azim has already indicated a disposition antagonistic to the British Government. The Ameer of Cabul, whoever he may be, will never prove trustworthy, unless circumstances so fall out, that the interests of the British Government are plainly and strongly identical. Still a Chief in that position can do the British Government harm by stirring up the border tribes to plunder the lands of the British Government. On the whole, the Governor General in Council considers that the policy of the British Government would be to adhere to the Ameer so long as he can maintain himself, and in no wise to countenance his enemies. But, should a new Ruler establish himself in Cabul and open up friendly relations the British Government should then show itself willing to be on good terms with him. It is not for the interest of a chief in such a position to be on open terms of enemity with the British Government."[125]

122 Telegram from Government of India to Punjab Government 14 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; March 1866; No. 80.

123 *Ibid.*

124 Punjab Government to Govenment of India 20 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; March 1866; No. 231 and Government of India to Punjab Government 27 March 1866; Pol A. Progs; March 1866; No. 233.

125 Govt. of India to Punjab Govt. 24 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; March 1866; No. 228.

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The strict policy of neutrality pleased neither the party of Sher Ali nor that of Azim and Abdur Rehman. If, as the Government of India confessed, "the Ameer was never really friendly to the British Government," Azim and Rehman too showed no disposition to be friendly to the British Government. Thus Abdur Rehman frequently expressed his discontent with the attitude of the British Government by saying that although Azim had played an important part in negotiating an alliance with the British Government, the latter had shown no consideration to him in the time of his difficulties, treating him in a manner dishonouring to him, in deference to the interests of Ameer Sher Ali.[126] Again Azim declared on 12th March 1866 in open durbar that he did not intend to preserve friendship unless his two conditions were satisfied—(i) that as Persia supported Herat by subsidies of money and arms, so the British Government should support Afghanistan, (ii) there should be no interference in the affairs of Afghanistan.[127] Otherwise he would, through the intervention of Bokhara, openly seek an alliance with Russia.[128] Azim's sentiments were confirmed by the chiefs who were unanimous in their opinion that a Russian alliance was preferable to that of the English.[129] Only Rufeek Khan said that it would be advisable to maintain the relations of friendship with the British Government.[130] The tide was turning strong against the British alliance but Lord Lawrence was too astute to be taken in by these hostile sentiments; he knew only too well how unstable the power of Azim was, especially as Sher Ali was rallying his forces at Candahar for the final encounter with Azim and Abdur Rehman.[131] The Moonshee was therefore instructed to assure Azim "that the British Government means to maintain the strict neutrality heretofore shown and to be friendly with both parties so long as they remain so to us."[132] But before the Moonshee received these instructions he committed the indiscretion of compromising himself with Azim and his party at Cabul by actually making overtures of friendship and alliance between the British Government and Azim as ruler of Cabul.[133] The Government of India ordered the recall of the Moonshee and severely censured his conduct—"He had no authority to assume the functions of a Representative of the British Government; his duty was simply to watch and report events and cultivate friendly relations with all parties. The

126 Letter from Moonshee 7 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; 1866; No. 241.

127 Letter from Moonshee 13 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Apl. 1866; No. 14.

128 *Ibid.* 129 *Ibid.* 130 *Ibid.*

131 Diary 27 Apl. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; May 1866; No. 138.

132 Punjab Government to Government of India 23 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Apl. 1866; No. 186.

133 Pesh. Com. to Punjab Govt. 1 Apl. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Apl. 1866; No. 192.

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course which he has adopted is certainly premature, and may prove embarrassing."[134] The Government of India adhered strictly to the policy of neutrality, particularly in view of the fact that it was difficult to foresee what might be the turn of events in Cabul.[135] It was just possible that Sher Ali might recover Cabul. "Already it is said that Rufeek, the ablest chief in the country, whose desertion was probably one of the main causes of the collapse of the Ameer's party at Cabul, is discontented with Azim and has come to an understanding with the Ameer. In the opinion of His Excellency in Council, sound policy dictates that we should not be hasty in giving up the Ameer's cause as lost. We should await the development of events and for the present continue to recognize Sher Ali as the Ameer of Afghanistan. If the Ameer fails in his attempt to recover Cabul and Sirdar Muhammud Azim Khan establish his power and make overtures to the British Government, the latter can then be recognized as the ruler of such parts of the country as he may possess. It should be our policy to show clearly that we will not interfere in the struggle, that we will not aid either party, that we will leave the Afghans to settle their own quarrels, and that we are willing to be on terms of amity and good-will with the nation, and their Rulers *de facto*. Suitable opportunities can be taken to declare that these are the principles which will guide our policy, and it is the belief of the Governor General in Council that such a policy will in the end be appreciated."[136] Such were the leading features of Sir John Lawrence's policy of 'Masterly Inactivity.' Government of India cancelled their orders for the recall of the Moonshee[137] when the Punjab Government showed that no serious harm had resulted from his indiscretion.[138]

(to be continued)

DHARM PAL

134 Govt. of India to Punjab Govt. 17 Apl. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Apl. 1866; No. 196. 135 *Ibid.* 136 *Ibid.*

137 Govt. of India to Punjab Govt. 17 May 1866; Pol. A. Progs; May 1866; No. 120.

138 Punjab Govt. to Pesh. Com. 4 Apl. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; 1866; No. 199.

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MISCELLANY

The Indian Epics in Indo-China

The great influence exercised by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* over the life and literature of the Indians is well-known. It is only natural that the influence of the two Epics should be equally dominant in the colonies established by the Indians. The evidence of such influence is furnished by the Indo-Javanese literature which may be regarded as almost a creation of the two epics. But although the part played by the Indian Epics in the evolution of the art, literature and civilisation of Java and Bali is better known and consequently widely recognised,[1] there are at least two other colonial kingdoms in the Far East, *viz.* Kambuja (Cambodia) and Campā (Annam) where the great Epics played an equally important rôle.

Neither Kambuja nor Campā developed a local literature like Java, and so we cannot trace the direct influence of the Indian Epics on the literature of these colonies. But we possess abundant evidence to prove that both the Epics were widely read and held in the highest esteem, and their various episodes were highly popular.

The most striking testimony is furnished by an inscription[2] of Campā, found at the site of the ancient capital of the kingdom known as Campā-pura (now called Tra-kieu). This inscription records the construction of a temple and the installation of an image of Vālmīki by king Prakāśadharma whose reign covers the period from 656 to 687 A. D. The verses referring to Vālmīki are most interesting and read as follows :—

यस्य शोकात् समुत्पन्नं श्लोकं ब्रह्माभिपूज[ति] ।
विष्णोः पुंसः पुराणस्य मानुषस्यात्मरूपिणः ॥१
* * * रितं कृत्यं कृतं येनाभिषेचनं ।
कवेराद्यस्य महर्षेर्वाल्मीकेश् श्रु—रिह ॥२
पूजास्थानं पुनस्तस्य कृत ... ... ।
प्रकाशधर्म्मनृपतिः सर्व्वारिगणसूदनः ॥३

The opening line refers to the traditional account of the composition of the first poem by Vālmīki on seeing a *krauñca* bird killed by a

1 There is an extensive literature on the subject. Readers unacquainted with Dutch may consult the following :—
(*a*) R. C. Majumdar—*Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, Bk. V, Ch. IV; Bk. VI;
(*b*) H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences on the literature of Java and Bali*, Chs. VII-XIII.

2 Edited in *BEFEO*, XXVIII, p. 147.

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hunter and reminds us of the famous verse of Kālidāsa *(Raghuvaṁśa,* XIV. 70*)* which ends as follows:—

निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः
श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥

The author of the inscription was undoubtedly very familiar with the second chapter of the Ādi-kāṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa* and his composition of the first line was inspired by it. We may compare it for example with the second half of the following verse of Ch. II (v. 18)

पादबद्धोऽक्षरसमस्तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितः ।
शोकार्त्तस्य प्रवृत्तो मे श्लोको भवतु नान्यथा ॥

Besides, the reference to the appreciation by Brahmā also occurs in the same chapter of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The second line of the inscription has been construed to mean that the great sage Vālmīki, referred to in the next verse as the first poet, was a human incarnation of Viṣṇu. This interpretation is probable, but cannot be regarded as certain in view of the loss of some letters in the second verse. For it is not unlikely that the reference here is to the Rāma-incarnation of Viṣṇu, whose glory was sung by the poet. But whether Vālmīki was actually regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu or not, the fact that his image was worshipped in a temple leaves no doubt that he was regarded as a divinity. This indirectly proves the high regard which was paid to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is noteworthy that there is no Indian tradition attributing divinity to the poet Vālmīki, and this was evidently an innovation introduced in Campā by the dominant part played by the immortal poem *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The popularity of the Epics is also reflected in the inscriptions of Cambodia. Thus we read in a record[3] of the sixth century A. D. that complete texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas were kept in a Śaiva temple, and arrangement was made for their daily recitation. The verse runs as follows:—

रामायण-पुराणाभ्यामशेषं भारतन्ददात् ।
अकृतान्वहमच्छेद्यां स च तद्वाचनस्थितिम् ॥

That this was not an isolated example but a more or less regular practice in Cambodian temples follows from another inscription[4] in a temple, belonging to the 6th or 7th century A. D. It records that a manuscript of *Śāmbhava-adhyāya*, a portion of the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, was deposited in the temple (library), and contains imprecations against those who destroy this work of Vyāsa.

3 Edited by Barth in *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 28
4 *BEFEO*, XI. 393.

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In addition to these direct references to the study of the Epics we get indirect evidence thereof in the frequent allusions to both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions in Cambodia. Besides, the bas-reliefs of Aṅgkor Vat, the most famous temple of Cambodia, illustrate a large number of scenes from both the Epics. Prominent among these is the battlefield of Kurukṣetra, depicting both Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the front. Among the episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* may be mentioned the pursuit of Mārīca by Rāma, his alliance with Sugrīva, fight between Vāli and Sugrīva, meeting, between Hanumān and Sītā at Laṅkā, the battlefield of Laṅkā, return of Rāma in the aerial car Puṣpaka, *etc*. Other temples in Cambodia also contain similar illustrations.

A careful consideration of all these points reveals to us the great popularity which the two Epics once enjoyed in these far-off Indian Colonies. We have no evidence of an official cult of Vālmīki in Cambodia as we find in Campā, but such a thing is not unlikely. A stone altar[5] has been found in Cambodia containing the words "*Oṁ Jaiminaye svāhā*" engraved on its four faces. This shows the deification of sage Jaimini, and affords an interesting parallel to the cult of Vālmīki in Campā.

The influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Campā may also be judged from the fact that the modern Annamite versions of the Rāma legend localise the events in Annam itself. We have also Malayan versions of the Rāma legend—Hikāyat Seri Rāma—in which the events are described as having taken place in Malay Peninsula. The modern Malayan literature also contains a number of works based on the *Mahābhārata*. These facts are sufficient to indicate the great rôle played by the two Indian Epics in the ancient Indian colonies in Indo-China[6].

R. C. MAJUMDAR

5 *BEFEO*, XXVIII. 43.

6 For the spread of the Rāma-legend in Indonesia and its different versions *cf*.

(*i*) Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien* (1924).

(*ii*) J. Kats, The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. IV, pp. 579-585).

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The Malaya Mountain in Kālidāsa

Kālidāsa describes the region of the Malaya mountains in the fourth *Sarga* of his *Raghuvaṁśa*, in verses 46 to 52. I find some difficulty in locating this mountain. *Malai* in Tamil means a hill or a mountain. So a particular mountain must have come to be known as the *Malai*, i.e. the Malaya (mountain). The Malaya mountain with its fragrant sandal-wood trees, from which cool southern breeze blows during the hot summer days, is well known in Sanskrit literature. Sandal-wood is itself known as *Malayaja* or the product of the Malaya mountain. At present it is in the forests of the Mysore that the best sandal-wood grows.

The description of Malaya appears in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto IV, after the description of the Kāverī;[1] after Malaya there is the description of the Sahya mountain;[2] the description of Pāṇḍya is included within the description of Malaya. The conquest of Kaliṅga is described in verses 38 to 43. Then it is said that Raghu marched along the sea-coast towards the south,[3] and the sea-coast was covered with gardens of areca nuts.[3] Then he reaches the Kāverī; and it is after this that Malaya is described. If there had not been the statement that from Kaliṅga country he marched along the sea-coast[4] and if it had not been also stated that he took inland route only after leaving the Malaya mountain, when he reached the Sahya mountain,[5] perhaps we could have thought that Raghu went inland after Kaliṅga, and that the descriptions of the Malaya mountain and Kāverī refer to portions of the present day Mysore country.

Another possibility is that Malaya refers to the extreme South of the Western Ghats lying between the present Travancore and Cochin States on the West and the Southern Districts of the Madras Presidency on the East. That is the highest mountain in the Tamil area, and one can well understand why that is called the *Malai* in Tamil,

1 स सैन्यपरिभोगेण गजदानसुगन्धिना ।
कावेरीं सरितां पत्युः शङ्कनीयामिवाकरोत् ॥ IV.—45.

2 असह्यविक्रमः सह्यं दूरान्मुक्तमुदन्वता ।
नितम्बमिव मेदिन्याः स्रस्तांशुकमलङ्घयत् ॥
तस्यानीकैर्विसर्पद्भिरपरान्तजयोद्यतैः ।
रामाम्रोत्सारितोऽप्यासीत् सह्यलग्न इवार्णवः ॥ IV.—52,53.

3 ततो वेलातटेनैव फलवत्पूगमालिना ।
अगस्त्याचरितामाशामनाशास्यजयो ययौ ॥ IV.—44.

4 See note just above.

5 See note 2. दूरान्मुक्तमुदन्वता ।

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resulting in its being termed the Malaya in Sanskrit. Perhaps it is this portion of the Western Ghats that is meant by Malaya in Kālidāsa. But there is some difficulty.

After leaving Kāverī (perhaps the mouth of the Colroon)[6] Raghu reaches the valley of Malaya. It is certain that Raghu is still marching along the sea-coast, since it is said that he departed from the coastal tract only after finishing his Pāṇḍya campaign.[7] Further it is after reaching the valley of Malaya that he mentions the Tāmraparṇī river,[8] which flows from the Western Ghats to the Bay of Bengal, joining the sea to the south of Tuticorin. Marching along the sea-coast, how could Raghu reach the southern end of the Western Ghats before reaching Tāmraparṇī? And then, after enjoying their pleasant halt along the valleys of Malaya and of its twin, Dardura. Raghu comes to Sahya, which is far removed from the sea.[9] In reaching the Sahya mountain, there is the description that his army appeared to be the ocean itself approaching the Sahya mountain though made to recede by the power of the weapon of Rāma (evidently an allusion to the construction of the bridge to Laṅkā).[10] Aparānta is on the west coast, and so it is certain that Raghu reached the Sahya mountain from the east; he crossed the Sahya and reached Kerala[11] and then he marched on to Aparānta[12] and then to Pārasīka.[13]

From this description it looks as though Malaya is a mountain along the east coast of the present Madura District. The only difficulty in this matter is that there is no mountain there, and there is no companion mountain named Dardura, either. As a matter of fact

6 See note 1. The reference to the jealousy of the lord of the rivers suggests that the description is of the place near the conjunction with the ocean.

7 See note 2. दूरान्मुक्तमुदन्वता ।

8 ताम्रपर्णीसमेतस्य मुक्तासारं महोदधेः ।
ते निपत्य ददुस्तस्मै यशः स्वमिव सञ्चितम् ॥ IV.—50.
comes after the three verses describing Malaya.

9 स निर्विश्य यथाकामं तटेष्वालीनचन्दनौ ।
स्तनाविव दिशस्तस्याः शैलौ मलयदर्दुरौ ॥ IV.—51.

10 See note 2. रामास्त्रोत्सारितोऽप्यासीत्
सह्यलग्न इवार्णवः ।

11 भयोत्सृष्टविभूषाणां तेन केरलयोषिताम् ।
अलकेषु चमूरेणुश्चूर्णप्रतिनिधीकृतः ॥ IV.—54.

12 अवकाशं किलोदन्वान् रामायाभ्यर्थितो ददौ ।
अपरान्तमहीपालव्याजेन रघवे करम् ॥ IV.—58.

13 पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना । IV.—60,

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it need not have been a high mountain; it might have been only a forest in an elevated part of the country. There are other places known as *Malai* (mountain) where we find no mountain at all. Thus Sanskrit literature speaks of Conjeevaram as Hastigiri[14] (*Attimalai* in Tamil). No one can detect anything in this locality which will justify the appellation of a mountain. Near Madras there is the *Periya Malai* (the bigger mountain) which is the St. Thomas Mount Hill and which can be detected as a hill; there is also the *Cinna Malai* (Little Mount as it is called) which no one can call a hill.

I have been led to surmise that Malaya mountain is on the east coast of the present Madura District or thereabout, near Rameśvaram, because in the thirteenth Canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* it is said that when Rāma and Sītā left Laṅkā in the Puṣpakavimāna, Rāma showed to Sītā the ocean divided by the Setu stretching as far as the Malaya mountain.[15] Can this reference be to the Southern end of the Western Ghats? This can be only a reference to a mountain on the east coast of the southern part of India, since it is only up to such a mountain that the Setu dividing the sea between Laṅkā and India can stretch.

Thus the two references to the relation of the sea to the Malaya mountain in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* clearly indicate that the Malaya mountain must have been on the east coast. The sea that was made to recede by the power of the weapon of Rāma appearing to approach Sahya,[16] which is farther inland than the Malaya itself, must be on the eastern side of India. The sea seen by Rāma when he left Laṅkā as divided by the Setu stretching as far as Malaya[17] must also be on the eastern side of India. And it follows that the Malaya mountain must be on this sea coast. The southern end of the Western Ghats is a few miles to the north of Cape Comorin; there is the whole of the Tinnevelly District between this part of the Western Ghats and the sea on the east. Rāma could not have crossed over to India from Laṅkā from the South at the Cape Comorin.

14 इयं काञ्ची काञ्ची करिशिखरिणः कापि नगरी
गरीयस्यां यस्यां विहरणजुषां पद्मलदृशाम् ।
मुखं दर्शं दर्शं रजनिकरमादर्शममलं
स्वरूपं के पङ्केरुहमपि न निन्दन्ति रसिकाः ॥
Viśvaguṇādarśa, Stz. 265.

15 वैदेहि पश्यामलयाद्विभक्तं
मत्सेतुना फेनिलमम्बुराशिम् ॥ XIII.—2.
This definitely shows that the Malaya is at the head of the Setu.

16 See notes 2 and 10.

17 See note 15.

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The *Purāṇas* do not help us in locating the Malaya mountain. In the *Purāṇas*, Malaya is given as one of the seven Kulaparvatas.[18] It is accepted more or less as a certainty in modern times that Malaya is the southern end of the Western Ghats. That is the conclusion arrived at by scholars and that is the description that I have seen in modern contributions on the subject.

I was recently reading a *Sandeśakāvya* in which there is a reference to Malaya. The *Sandeśakāvyas* have a great importance in the mater of ancient geography. These described the various places as they were known at the time. The poem that I mean here is the *Cakorasandeśa* of an unknown author.[19] I have given some information about this in my paper on 'Payyūr Bhaṭṭas' in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras in 1945. The poem may be by a member of that well-known family of scholars and poets in Malabar. It must belong to about the thirteenth century. The author is likely to be identical with the author of *Sumanoramaṇī* which is a commentary on the *Meghasandeśa* and which is being published now in the *Journal of the Oriental Manuscripts Library* of the University of Travancore serially.

In this poem, the description of the route starts from Chidambaram.[20] After describing the countries on the east coast, the poet gives a description of Cape Comorin and then of Malabar. The route ends at the temple of Vedāraṇya in Malabar.

After a very long description of the Cola country,[21] there is a reference to the coastal reigon.[22] Then there is the reference to the

18 महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमानृक्षपर्वतः ।
विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तात्र कुलपर्वताः ॥ *Viṣṇu Purāṇa.*, 2. 3. 3.

19 I have a copy from the manuscript in the Government Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras, R. 3607.

20 तस्मादस्मात्पतगपुरतः श्रीमतः श्रीनिकेत-
श्रेयोहेतोर्गिरिशपदतो युक्तशार्दूलसंज्ञात् ।
आशामाशां मम कलयितुं याहि शीघ्रं प्रतीचीं
यस्यां देवीभवनमविता तेऽस्तु साम्बः शिवोऽयम् ॥ I.—30.
Chidambaram is known as व्याघ्र(शार्दूल)पुरी ।

21 Verses 47—58.

22 कल्लोलालीर्लवणजलधावुत्पतन्नापतन्ती-
र्भूयो भूयः परममहतीरद्भुताः पश्यतस्ते ।
सल्लोलालीः पथि विकसिताः पद्मिनीश्चाभिरामा
मान्द्यं माभूत् पतग गमने विस्मयाविष्टतायाः ॥ I.—58.

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Malaya mountain where lived Agastya,[23] From this verse it would appear that Malaya is a part of the Mahendra mountain, since it is said that the messenger should pay homage to Agastya with his residence in the Malaya mountains, abiding in the Mahendra Hills. The description of the Setu[24] follows this. Tāmraparṇī is described still farther to the south,[25] and it is here that the Pāṇḍya[26] country comes in.

Mahendra, according to Kālidāsa, is a mountain on the east coast far to the north, in the modern Andhra Districts, in the Kaliṅga country.[27] But in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Hanūmān takes his jump to cross over the ocean to Laṅkā from the peak of Mahendra mountain,[28] which must be near the Setu. In this *Sandeśakāvya* too, we find Mahendra mountain in that locality; it is also found that Malaya mountain is a part of the Mahendra mountain.

If we follow the description in this *Sandeśakāvya*, of the Malaya mountain in relation to Pāṇḍya and to Tāmraparṇī and compare it with the descriptions in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, it would be noticed that the Malaya mountain in the *Raghuvaṁśa* must be near the Setu. There must have been vast sandal-wood forests in that region in those days. The conclusion is that the Malaya mountain is not a part of the Western Ghats; it is a forest near the Setu on the east coast of the southern part of India.

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23 ब्रह्मर्षिं तं मलयनिलयं भक्तिपूर्वं नमेस्त्वं
लोपामुद्रारमणमपि चासीनमद्रौ महेन्द्रे ।
रामं लोकत्रितयमहितं यातमस्माच्च देशात्
सेवेरंस्ते मलयमरुतश्चन्दनामोदिनस्त्वाम् ॥ I.—59.

24 वीच्चेथास्त्वं विरचितमितो रामभद्रेण सेतुम् ॥ I.—60.
The Setu is definitely stated as starting from this Malaya region.

25 आरात् पश्येः पथि जलनिधेः प्रेयसीं ताम्रपर्णीम् । I.—62.

26 पाण्ड्यान् पश्येः परमसुखदान् पुण्यदेशान् पुरस्त्वम् ॥ I.—65.
Note that these descriptions are from the north to the south.

27 स प्रतापं महेन्द्रस्य मूर्ध्नि तीक्ष्णं न्यवेशयत् ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ Raghu. IV.—39-43.
असौ महेन्द्राद्रिसमानसारः
पतिर्महेन्द्रस्य महोदधेश्च । Raghu. VI.—54.
All these are in the description of Kaliṅga.

28 प्रत्यक्षमेव भवतां महेन्द्राग्रात्प्लवाप्लुतः ।
उदधेर्दक्षिणं पारं काङ्क्षमाणः समाहितः ॥ Sundara-kāṇḍa. 51. 7.

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A Note on Rājagṛha

In his monograph, "Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature."[1] Dr. Law intends to give an exhaustive study of Rājagṛha "from all the available literary sources, Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist." But the only Jain source that he cites is Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, a work dated by Winternitz between 1326-1331 A.D.[2] This work doubtless has the most detailed topographical description of Rājagṛha and its surroundings known so far in Jain literature, but for its early history and traditions we have a source almost 200 years earlier in that encyclopedia of all things Indian—the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra.

I have myself some years ago given a summary of Hemacandra's account of the history of the time in which Rājagṛha flourished.[3] At the time I wrote my article the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* had not been printed.[4] Hence the *Triṣaṣṭi*° was the earliest work in which I found the name Kuśāgrapura for Rājagṛha. Dr. Law also did not find the name in Pāli nor Ardhamāgadhī.[5]

Dr. Law decides that Rājagṛha was "just another name for the capital."[6] He discusses the account of Huen Thsang and Fa-Hien who speak of the 'old city' and 'new city' of Rājagṛha and he decides that that they had' confused the 'New Rājagṛha' with Pāṭaliputra, which was in fact the new Rājagṛha, or new capital of Magadha, as distinguished from the old Rājagṛha or Girivraja with its outer walls."[7]

As Dr. Law omits any reference to Hemacandra and as his account supports the Chinese in some respects, it seems advisable to call attention again to his statements about Rājagṛha. Notwithstanding the learning for which he was noted, Hemacandra can hardly be suspected of drawing his version from the Chinese. They must be two independent accounts going back to a well-established tradition and cannot be dismissed lightly.

Hemacandra says, in brief:[8] Prasenajit was king of Kuśāgrapura and was a powerful king. Among his numerous sons Śreṇika had distinguished himself and had been chosen as his successor, a fact which Prasenajit concealed. Because of frequent fires in Kuśāgrapura

1 Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, no. 58 (1938).

2 In his *History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, 121.

3 *JAOS.*, 45 (1925), 301 ff.

4 *An Imperial History of India* (*the Mañjuśrimūlakalpa*), K. P. Jayaswal, Lahore, 1934.

5 Page 1 of the monograph.

6 P. 21. 7 P. 23.

8 Cf. T. L. Shah, *Ancient India*, I, 148 f.

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Prasenajit issued an edict that any one in whose house a fire occurred would be exiled from the city. As a fire subsequently occurred in the palace, Prasenajit felt bound by his own edict, left the city, and founded Rājagṛha. Prasenajit lived there and it was in Rājagṛha that Śreṇika became king. He came there from Veṇātaṭapura[9] where he had been living because of his father's apparent disfavour.

After Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru had been responsible for the death of Śreṇika, his father, overcome by remorse he left Rājagṛha and founded Campā.[10] Kūṇika was killed on an expedition[11] and his son Udāyin succeeded him. Pāṭaliputra was founded after the death of Kūṇika. Udāyin founded it to assuage his grief at his father's death, in imitation of his father's founding of Campā.[12]

There are, of course, differences in Hemacandra's and the Chinese versions, but they definitely agree that a new city was founded because of a fire and there is no reason to suppose that this new city was Pāṭaliputra rather than Rājagṛha itself. The Campā which Kūṇika founded cannot be Campā, the capital of Aṅga. One of Śreṇika's sisters-in-law was married to the king of Campā and Campā of the Aṅgas, which was still independent of Magadha in Hemacandra, was, of course, well-known to him.[13] Dr. T. L. Shah discusses the two Campās.[14] He does not use the *Triṣaṣṭi*,° but the *"Bharteśvar Bāhubali Vṛti"* which is not available to me. Apparently in that work Kūṇika rebuilt the Campā of the Aṅgas which had been destroyed in a war.[15] I cannot reconcile all of Dr. Shah's passages on the two Campās,[16] but in any case Hemacandra was not the only author who connected Kūṇika with the rebuilding or founding of a Campā.

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9 *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, 10.6. 1-139.
10 *Triṣaṣṭi*° 10.12. 168-189.
11 *Triṣaṣṭi*° 10.12, 420-24.
12 *Triṣaṣṭi*° 10.12. 426 and Pariśiṣṭaparvan 6. 22-41, 177-180
13 *Triṣaṣṭi*° 10.9 and *JAOS.*, 45, 306.
14 *Ancient India*, vol. I, Chap. V.
15 *Id.* I, 111 and footnote.
16 *Id.* I, 126.

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Vedic Rites and Non-Traivarṇikas

As regards the Vedic rites the general rule is that only the *Traivarṇikas* or the members of the first three *varṇas* or castes, viz., the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, and the Vaiśyas, are eligible for them, as it is only they who are entitled to establish sacred fires. But there are two notable exceptions. These two cases form two very important topics in the *Mimāṃsāsūtras* of Jaimini (VI. I. 44-50, 51-52). In this connexion two authoritative Vedic passages are interpretated by the ancient teachers very liberally showing thereby their implicit trust and sincere faith in the religion they professed.

•The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 2. 6-7) prescribes three seasons, viz., spring, summer, and autumn for the three higher castes, viz., the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, and the Vaiśya respectively as the proper time for the consecration of their respective fires, and then enjoins a sacred text (cf. *Op. cit.* I. 2. 4.) that a Rathakāra 'chariot maker' should establish his fire in the rainy season ("*varṣāṣu rathakāraḥ*").

Now who is that Rathakāra? Is he one of the first three higher castes, who might somehow or other, have taken to the profession of chariot making or a member of the caste of Rathakāras 'chariot makers', i. e. Śūdras? This is the question to be decided. Śabarasvāmin and his followers with Jaimini at their head discuss it and arrive at the conclusion that the Rathakāra here is certainly not a member of the first three higher castes, as it is quite clear from the word of the text itself.

It may, however, be argued that the Rathakāra here is meant to be a man belonging to one of the first three higher castes, as a carpenter by caste is not entitled to such Vedic rites, and that man may be called a Rathakāra 'chariot maker' on account of his taking to the profession of chariot making. But it cannot be so, because there can be no professional chariot-maker among the first three higher castes who are not allowed to live by crafts (*śilpopajīvitva*). The Rathakāra here is thus bound to be a man other than one belonging to any of the first three higher castes. Though at the first consideration he is not eligible for Vedic rites, his eligibility cannot be questioned on account of the Vedic text itself referred to above, for there is nothing that cannot be done by it ("*nahi vacanasya kiñcid akṛtyam asti*"—Śabarasvāmin). Besides, if it is held that the Rathakāra is here a member of the first three higher castes, then how is it that the season for the consecration of his fires should be enjoined again ("Varṣāsu rathakāraḥ"), as it is already once done together with that of all the members of the first three higher castes in which according to you the Rathakāra is also included? How is one to explain that in his case two seasons (i. e. one of the first three and the rainy season) are prescribed for the consecration of his fires?

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Consequently the Rathakāra must be here one who is not a member of the first three higher castes.

This caste is known in Vedic texts by the name of Saudhanvana. They are according to Śabarasvāmin (*Mīmāṃsāsūtra*, VI. 1. 50), slightly inferior to the first three higher castes, a different caste, but not Sūdras.[1] Thus the Rathakāras had the proud privileges of both the consecration of fires (*ādhāna*) and *upanayana* (i. e. the ceremony in which a boy of the first three higher castes is invested with the sacred thread), as it is found in *Dharmaśāstras*, for instance, *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtras*, II. 5. 6; *Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtras*, I. 1; see Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, 1930-1941, Vol. II, part I, pp. 45-46. And actually, as says Kane, "members of the carpenter caste in certain parts of the Deccan at least are in the habits of performing the *upanayana* ceremony".

There is, however, an evidence to show, as Mādhavācārya writes in his *Mīmāṃsādhikaraṇamālā* on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* already referred to, quoting the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (I. 95) that the Rathakāra belongs to a mixed caste (*saṅkīrṇa jāti*). A Kṣatriya's son by a Vaiśya woman is Māhiṣya, a Vaiśya's son by a Śūdra woman is Karaṇa (see however *Manu*, X 22), and a Rathakāra is a son from a Māhiṣya by a Karaṇa woman.

Whatever it may be, it is quite clear from the above that a Rathakāra who is certainly excluded from the first three higher castes was allowed to enjoy the privileges of consecration of fires and *upanayana*; and this was sanctioned by the ancient teachers simply on the strength of a Vedic passage in the interpretation of which there is no prejudice whatsoever of the interpreters towards the Rathakāras.

Similar or more important is the second case which is connected with a *Niṣāda* or a wild non-Aryan tribe described as hunters, etc. We read the following in a Vedic text in connexion with a sacrifice (*iṣṭi*) that is offered to Rudra: "One should make a *Niṣāda-sthapati* perform it".[2] The word *sthapati* means a chieftain (*śreṣṭha*). Now what is to be understood by the compound *niṣāda-sthapati*? The compound may be dissolved in two ways explaining it as a (i) descriptive or *Karmadhāraya* one, or as a (ii) determinative or *Tatpuruṣa* (genitive) one. The former will give the sense of the compound as 'a Niṣāda who himself is a chieftain'; and the latter, a 'chieftain of the Niṣādas.' But which of these two interpretations is to be accepted and on what grounds? This is a point discussed and decided by Jaimini and his followers in the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* (VI. 1.

1 hīnas tu kiñct traivaṇikebhyo jātyantaram, natu sūdraḥ.
2 etayā niṣādasthapatiṃ yājayet.

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51-52) and other connected works. If the second interpretation (a chieftain of Niṣādas) is accepted, he (Niṣāda) may be a man belonging to one of the first three higher castes, and there is nothing in the way of performing the sacrifice by him, as he is eligible for it having his fires consecrated. On the other hand, if the first interpretation (Niṣāda chieftain) is followed there is a contradiction, for a Niṣāda who is a non-Aryan being outside the pale of the first three higher castes is not fit for it. But this objection cannot be maintained, as we must take here a descriptive (*Karmadhāraya*) compound in the word *niṣāda-sthapati*. This is clear from the following passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 50. 33):

tatra rājā guho nāma rāmasyātmasamaḥ sakhā/
niṣādajātyo balavān sthapatiś ceti viśrutaḥ//[3]

'There was a king named Guha, a friend of Rāma, equal to himself; he belonged to the caste of Niṣādas, their strong chieftain and well-known'.

But why should the descriptive compound be accepted here? Jaimini and his followers say that it is owing to the force (*sāmarthya* or *śakti*) of the word itself. It is a reasonable rule that between two senses of a word, express or primary and figurative or secondary, it is the former that is to be accepted, because it is obtained directly from the force of a word itself, while the latter is understood only by transference of the actual meaning (*lakṣaṇā*). In the present case we know the meanings of the words, *niṣāda* and *sthapati*, expressly from those two words. But when one intends to take the word *niṣāda* in the compound in the sense of 'of Niṣāda' (*niṣādānām*) one does so only by *lakṣaṇā*, as actually there is nothing in the compound expressive of the possessive sense (*ṣaṣṭhī vibhakti*). Therefore the compound certaintly means 'a niṣāda chieftain.'

This interpretation is further supported by another line in connexion with the same sacrifice for Rudra, saying that a trap is to be given to the priest as his fees ("*kūṭaṃ dakṣiṇā*"). Here Jaimini says that a trap is the sign of a Niṣāda, for, as Śabarasvāmin would observe, a trap is helpful to Niṣādas, and not to Āryans. We should, therefore, conclude that Niṣāda-sthapati was non-Aryan. Yet, he was allowed to perform certain Vedic rites. It is also found elsewhere (*Satyāṣaḍhakalpa*, III. 1, as quoted by Kane, *op. cit*, vol. II, p. 46) that a Rathakāra and a Niṣāda are eligible for performing *Agnihotra* and *Darśapūrṇamāsa*.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

3 In the South Indian edition by T. R. Krishnācharya and T. R. Vyāsāchārya the number of the verse is 32, The inter-relation between the verse and the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* referred to is quite clear, but which of them is earlier is a question to be decided.

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The Vākāṭakas and the Aśmaka Country

A Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler named Mānāṅka (who seems to have originally been a *rāṣṭrakūṭa* or provincial governor) is known from the Undikavatika grant of his great-grandson Abhimanyu who resided at Mānapura. He has been identified with king Mānāṅka grandfather of Avidheya who issued the Pandurangapalli grant discovered in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur. There is reason to believe that the territories over which these rulers held away lay in the Kolhapur region and the adjoining area of the South Maratha country, and Prof. Mirashi may be right in identifying their capital with Man in the Satara District. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja, son of Śivarāja, who is known from the Naravana grant of 743 A.D. of the time of Vikramāditya II and seems to have been the subordinate ruler of a territory in the Satara-Ratnagiri region, may have been a scion of this family.

The Pandurangapalli charter appears to describe Mānāṅka, who probably flourished in the latter half of the fifth century, as the conqueror of Vidarbha and Aśmaka and also as the chastiser (*praśāsitā*) of the Kuntalas. The Kuntala people under reference were no doubt the Kadambas of Vanavasi, whose territories comprised the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaum and Dharwar. In the inscriptions of the later Kadambas, the progenitor of the Kadamba family (sometimes called Mayūravarman, but in some cases Mukkana or Trilocana Kadamba) is represented as the ruler of the Kuntala country which is described as the land round the capital city of Vanavasi in the North Kanara District. The country of Vidarbha lay on both sides of the river Varadā (modern Wardha, a tributary of the the Godavari) according to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and roughly corresponded to the major part of Berar and the western part of the C.P. Its ancient capital was at the city of Kuṇḍina which has been identified with modern Kauṇḍinyapura on the Wardha in the Chandur Taluk of the Amraoti District of Berar. The city of Padmapura which was the birth-place of the poet Bhavabhūti and was located in the Vidarbha country in Dakṣiṇāpatha, has been rightly identified with modern Padampur near the Amgaon railway station in the Bhandara District of the C.P. Vidarbha therefore included at least the Amraoti region in the west and the Bhandara area in the east. Epigraphic evidence shows that, about the time of Mānāṅka, the above land was entirely in the possession of kings belonging to the main branch of the Vākāṭaka family that had its headquarters near modern Nagpur. Thus it will be seen that the Pandurangapalli grant seems to represent Mānāṅka of the south Maratha country as having fought successfully with the Kadambas of Kuntala and the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha. But who were the

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Aśmakas, also mentioned in connection with the victorious campaigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler? It appears to me that the Aśmakas under reference are no other than the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma, which is mentioned separately from Vidarbha in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. The capital city of this branch of the Vākāṭaka family has been identified with modern Basim in the Akola District about the southern fringe of Berar; but their dominions certainly included the Ajanta region in the Aurangabad District and very probably also Nāndikaṭa, identified with the Nander District, both in the northern part of the Hyderabad State. The Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma therefore ruled over the southernmost region of Berar and the northern part of Hyderabad, and the ancient Aśmaka country has been located by scholars precisely in this region (cf. *PHAI*, pp. 76, 121-22; *NHIP*, VI, p. 88; *JAHRS*, IX, iii, p. 1 ff.).

The *Pārāyaṇa*, incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*, speaks of a sage named Bāvari who was an inhabitant of Śrāvasti but settled "in the country of Aśmaka, in the vicinity of Mūlaka, on the bank of the Godāvarī" (so *assakassa visaye mūlakassa samāsane, vasī godāvarīkule uñchena ca phalena ca*). While describing the journey of Bāvari's disciples from the sage's hermitage in Aśmaka to a locality in northern India, the same work says that the first place reached was Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan on the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District) which was the capital of the Mūlaka country; the men are said to have next reached Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, and then Ujjayinī outside the limits of Dakṣiṇāpatha. This shows that the Aśmaka country lay immediately to the south of Mūlaka, that is to say, the Paithan region of the Aurangabad District. The ancient capital of the Aśmaka country was, according to the *Mahābhārata*, at the city of Paudanya which is known as *Potana* (<*Podanna*<*Paudanya*) in the Pali literature. A variant of the form *Potana* is *Potali* which seems to be a mistake for *Potaṇa* or *Potaṇi* (cf. the striking similarity between the forms of the two letters *l* and *ṇ* at some stages of development), the latter being a possible corruption of *Paudanya* through another intermediate form *Podaniya* (cf. *śākya*>*śākiya*>*śaki*; *mūlya*>*mūliya*>*muli*; *ārogya*>*ārogiya*>*arogi*, etc., in *Gr. Prak. Lang.*, p. 23). Raychaudhuri identifies Paudanya with modern Bodhan near the Godavari in the Nizamabad District abutting on the Nander District in the Hyderabad State. In a narrow sense therefore the Aśmaka country may be identified with the Nander-Nizamabad region of Hyderabad and the adjoining area. In ancient literature, however, Aśmaka is often represented as including Mūlaka, i.e. the Paithan area of the Aurangabad District and as abutting on Kaliṅga (roughly speaking the coastal land between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī), Vidarbha, Aparānta (the

northern Konkan), and Avanti, doubtless the celebrated Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha with its capital at Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, identified with Mandhata in the Nimar District or Maheswar in the Indore State. This wider sense must have been in the mind of Bhaṭṭasvāmin when he identified Aśmaka with Mahārāṣtra, i.e., the Maratha country. But the heart of this land appears to have been the northern districts of Hyderabad including naturally the southernmost region of Berar. The heart of the ancient Aśmaka country thus seems to have corresponded to the dominions of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mānāṅka therefore claimed victory not only over the Kadambas of Kuntala and the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha, but also over the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty of Aśmaka.

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REVIEWS

A NEW HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE: VOL. VI—THE GUPTA-VAKATAKA AGE. Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar. Published for the *Bharatiya Itihas Parisad* by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore, 1946.

The publication of this volume is a landmark in the progress of historical studies in India. As early as 1908 Sir (then Professor) Jadu Nath Sarkar discussed with the late Mano Mohan Chakravarti, the well-known writer on the history of Bengal, the writing of a co-operative History of India on the model of the *Cambridge Modern History*. Similar plans were discussed by him later on with the late R. D. Banerji and Rev. J. Farquhar. All these plans, however, came to nothing because in those days India had not enough scholars to do equal justice to every part of the vast subject.. In 1937 Dr. Rajendra Prasad's initiative enabled Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar to inaugurate a scheme of preparing a co-operative History of India in 20 volumes, all the chapters of which would be written by competent Indian scholars. The General Board of Editors consists of (1) Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar (*President*), (2) Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit (whose unexpected death we all deplore), (3) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, (4) Prof. Mohammad Habib, (5) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, (6) Dr. P. C. Bagchi, and (7) Pandit Jay Chandra Vidyalankar (*Secretary*). Out of the projected 20 volumes only one—the work under review—has been published; but we are told (*Foreword*, p. v) that one volume (on the Nanda and Maurya Empires) is ready for the press and another volume (on the Age of Akbar) is half-completed. We eagerly await the publication of these and other volumes of his *Series*. Although these volumes are being written entirely by Indian scholars, the editors as well as the contributors are fully conscious of their responsibility to the cause of truth. Their aim is not to "suppress or whitewash everything in our country's past that is disgraceful;" their first duty is "to depict all the aspects of our nation's life in the past usually ignored by foreign writers." Dr. Rajendra Prasad reminds them that "no history is worth the name which suppresses or distorts facts."

The volume under review has been edited by two eminent scholars, who have also written most part of it. Dr. Majumdar has contributed 8 chapters and Dr. Altekar 10 out of a total 23. Among other contributors are Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. P. C. Bagchi. These names provide a sufficient guarantee regarding the quality and authoritative character of the work; but it is not free from a particular defect to which all co-operative works are subject to a certain degree. The editors have frankly confessed (*Editorial Preface*, pp. xi-xii) that they have expressed different views on

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several controversial topics, Dr. Majumdar does not accept Dr. Altekar's views on the relation between Piro and Rama-Gupta (pp. 22-23) the inference drawn from Piro's coins about his character (p. 23), the struggle for independence waged by the Yaudheyas and other tribes against the Kushanas (pp. 28 ff.), the extent of the Vakataka Empire (pp. 98 ff.), identification of the *Kuntalesa* of the Kalidasa tradition with Pravara-sena II (p. 112), etc. Dr. Altekar, on the other hand, does not agree with Dr. Majumdar regarding the circumstances connected with the abdication of Chandra-Gupta I (pp. 137-138), the precise western boundary of Samudra-Gupta's Empire (p. 144), the assumption of the title *Vikrama* by Samudra-Gupta (p. 155), the identification of Chandra of the Meharauli pillar inscription with Chandra-Gupta II (pp. 23, 168-169), the nationality of Toramana (p. 198), etc. There are openly expressed differences among the contributors as well. For instance, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri does not agree with Dr. Majumdar on the question whether Samudra-Gupta advanced as far as Kanchi (pp. 146-147, 232). The policy adopted by the Editors is described by them in the following words (*Editorial Preface*, p. xii): "..... where difference really exists, no attempt has been made, by dogmatic assertions, to accept one view as authoritative and final and reject the others." It is not easy to suggest a better method, but contradictory statements scattered throughout a book bewilder the general reader.

This volume covers the period *circa* 200-500 A.D. and the Editors have used the term "The Vakataka-Gupta Age" to denote this period. They do not claim that "the political or cultural achievements of the Vakatakas were comparable to those of the Guptas and sufficiently important to justify their association with the name of the age." (*Editorial Preface*, p. ix). It is, therefore, difficult to understand why such a title has been selected for this volume. Perhaps "The Scythian-Gupta Age" would have been a better title.

The contributors have supplied a good Bibliography in addition to references in the foot-notes. There is an exhaustive and useful Index. There are several plates which help the general reader in forming some idea about the coinage and sculpture of the period. Unfortunately the volume contains only one map—"India in the Gupta Age." The editors might have given us several maps illustrating, for instance, the campaign of Samudra-Gupta, the extent of the Vakataka dominions, the kingdoms of trans-Vindhyan India, Indian colonies in Insul-India, etc.

The first three chapters written by Dr. Altekar deal with North-Western and Western India before the foundation of the Gupta Empire. Being an enthusiastic numismatist Dr. Altekar has naturally made full use of numismatic evidence in dealing with subjects for which literary and epigraphic evidence is unusually scanty. New light

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has been thrown on the obscure history of the Later Kushanas and also on the development of the tribal republics established by the Yaudheyas, the Kunindas and the Arjunayanas and others; but the evidence adduced by Dr. Altekar in support of his theory that the Kushans were driven beyond the Sutlej by the Yaudheyas (pp. 28-29) is not very convincing. It is also difficult to accept his view that the decline of Saka power in Western India during the early decades of the 4th century A.D. was due to the conquests of Pravara-sena I (pp. 58-59). But considering the scanty sources at the disposal of the historian of these obscure Kushana and Saka rulers, we must remain grateful to Dr. Altekar for giving us a lucid statement of conclusions most of which are not likely to be assailed till the discovery of new evidence.

In chapter IV Dr. D. C. Sircar deals with some minor dynasties of the Eastern Deccan in the post-Satavahana period—the Ikshvakus, the Brihatphalayanas, the Anandas, the Salankayanas, the Pitribhaktas, the Matharas, the Vasishthas, the Sarabhapuriyas, the Panduvamsis, etc. Dr. Sircar's conclusions have in some cases been criticised or rejected by South Indian scholars like K. Gopalachari and B. V. Krishna Rao, but his competence to deal with the history of this obscure period has been recognised on all hands since the publication of his *Successors of the Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan*.

In Chapter V Dr. Altekar deals with the Vakatakas. Within a small compass (33 pages) he has given us the most readable and authoritative account of this important dynasty. The confusion regarding Vakataka chronology has been cleared on the basis of the known date of Prabhavati-Gupta. Some readers will probably feel that Dr. Altekar is inclined to exaggerate the historical importance of the Vakatakas. For instance, he makes Pravara-sena I the ruler of a vast Empire (p. 100), but the evidence on which he relies in support of this theory cannot satisfy fastidious scholars. Again, his remarks about Kalidasa's connection with Pravara-sena II (pp. 112-113) do not appear to be based on positive evidence.

In six chapters covering 83 pages Dr. Majumdar deals with the political history of the Gupta Empire. The late R. D. Banerjee's *Age of the Imperial Guptas* and Mr. R. N. Dandekar's *History of Guptas* have been completely superseded by these illuminating chapters. Apart from that discriminating scholarship for which Dr. Majumdar is deservedly well-known, these chapters are really remarkable for rare lucidity and freshness. Even while discussing much-discussed problems, for instance, the extent of Chandra-Gupta I's dominions, the identity of Kacha, the identification of the names mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription, the story of Rama-Gupta, etc., (pp. 134-135, 138-154, 161-165) Dr. Majumdar has revealed his origi-

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nality and sobriety. On some important problems of Gupta history and chronology he has thrown new light. For instance, we may refer to the date of Samudra-Gupta, nationality of Toramana and Mihirakula, the part played by the Hunas in overthrowing the Gupta Empire, etc. (pp. 158-160, 195-198, 217-218). The obscurities connected with the history of the Later Guptas have been cleared to a large extent in the light of the latest evidence. May we expect that Dr. Majumdar will give us a comprehensive work on the Gupta Age, in which he may draw a fuller picture of that great epoch?

In Chapter XII Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri deals with South India. He begins with an interesting picture of the Sangam Age drawn on the basis of data collected from Tamil literature (pp. 226-228). A brief account of the early Pallavas follows. Prof. Sastri's views on the origin of the Pallavas, Samudra-Gupta's alleged march to Kanchi, the rise of the Kadambas, etc. (pp. 230, 232, 235-239) are weighty pronouncements with which it would be very difficult to differ.

In Chapter XIII Dr. S. Paranavitana, Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, gives a brief but clear reviews of the history of that island from 66 A.D. to 534 A.D., to which is added a very useful note on chronology (pp. 262-264).

The most prominent feature of this volume is not political history (covering 252 pages), although even in this respect it is a distinct improvement on existing works relating to the Gupta Age. Ten chapters (covering 207 pages) deal with administrative organisation (by Dr. Altekar), coinage (by Dr. Altekar), colonial and cultural expansion in Insul-India, Eastern Turkestan and China (by Dr. Majumdar and Dr. P. C. Bagchi), intercourse with the Western world (by Dr. Majumdar), social and economic conditions (by Dr. Altekar), education, literature and sciences (by Dr. Altekar), archaeological remains (by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit) and fine arts (by Dr. Sivaramamurti of Madras Museum and Dr. Agrawala of Lucknow Museum). The space at our disposal does not allow us to refer to some interesting points raised in these well-written chapters, but we invite the attention of our readers to this novel attempt of drawing the full picture of a vanished age on the basis of scanty and uncertain data. No sober reader of history will remain satisfied in these days with stories of bloodshed and dynastic change. We must know something about the part played by our ancestors in shaping the political and cultural life of ancient Asia, and we must get concrete facts regarding their contribution to the development of human thought. We are deeply grateful to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar and the Editors of this volume for evolving a new tradition of historiography which, we feel sure, will be followed by other workers in the same field.

A. C B.

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THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE (Annamalai University Historical Series No. 3), by V. Vriddhagirisan, M.A., M. Lit., L.T.; edited by Rao Bahadur Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.; published by the University, Annamalainagar, 1942; pages xv + 197 + 44.

The Nayaks of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore played an important part in the mediæval history of the southernmost Districts of India. While, however, the history of the Madura and Gingee Nayaks was wellknown to students from such works as the *Nayaks of Madura* by R. Sathianatha Aiyar and the *History of Gingee* by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, the history of Tanjore under the Nayaks did not so long receive adequate treatment. The author and editor of the volume under review have therefore laid all students of South Indian history under a debt of gratitude.

Besides an introductory summary of the whole work written by Prof. Srinivasachari and the author's introduction forming chapter I, there are nine chapters in the volume under review delineating the history of the Nayaks of Tanjore. Chapters II and X deal respectively with the foundation of the Tanjore Nayakship and general features of the Nayak rule, while chapters III-IX discuss the history of the Nayaks Śevappa (c. 1532-80 A.D.), Achyutappa (1560-1614 A.D.), Raghunātha (1600-34 A.D.), Vijayarāghava (1633-73 A.D.) and Cheṅgamaldās (1674-75 A.D.). Chapter VII deals specially with the career of the celebrated minister and savant Govinda Dīkṣita.

The most interesting sections of the book under review are those delineating the history of the age of Raghunātha Nāyak who was the greatest of the Tanjore Nayaks. The great victory of Raghunātha over the combined forces of Śolaga of Devikottai (feudatory of Gingee), Krishnappa Nāyak of Gingee and the Portuguese (called *Pāraśīka* and *Paraṅgi*) and the success of the Tanjore army against the Portuguese in Jaffna have been treated in details. Stress has also been laid on Raghunātha's learning, his musical skill with special reference to his accomplishments in the Karṇāṭa music, and his patronage of worthy persons belonging to different religious faiths. The author has discussed in details the Nayak's contribution to the literary activities of the age and the favour that he extended to such worthies as Govinda Dīkṣita, his two sons Yajñanārāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamakhī (Veṅkaṭādhvarī), Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, Bhāskara and Kumāra (Lakṣmīkumāra) Tātācārya.

D. C. SIRCAR

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), Number 2 (July, 1946)

STELLA KRAMRISCH.—*The Image of Mahādeva in the Cave-temple of Elephanta Island.* The iconography of the colossal image of a triple-headed Śiva in the rock-cut temple on the Elephanta Island has been explained with the three faces interpreted as representing the *Tatpuruṣa, Aghora* and *Vāmadeva* aspects of Maheśa (Great Lord).

K. R. SRINIVASAN.—*The Megalithic Burials and Urn-fields of South India in the Light of Tamil Literature and Tradition.* Stone cist and urns were used by the ancient Tamils as receptacles for burial of the dead. A number of traditional, literary, and epigraphical references collected in the paper shows that the megalithic and urn-field burial customs, forming so dominant a factor in early Tamil civilization, were prevalent at a time earlier than the third century B. C. and continued for the first four centuries of the Christian era.

R. E. M. WHEELER, A. GHOSH, KRISHNA DEVA.—*Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading-station on the East Coast of India.* Recent excavations have brought to light the importance of Arikamedu representing a buried town on the Coromandel coast near Pondicherry. Archaeological materials recovered from the site, including pottery and other objects of known origin, point to an age not later than the first-century A.C., providing evidence for the proper study of a pre-medieval phase of the Indian civilization.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XXVI, pts. iii—iv

B C. LAW.—*Ancient Historic Sites of Bengal.* It is a brief account of more than two dozen places of historical interest in Bengal, including Viṣṇupura, Tāmralipti, Navadvīpa and Vikramapura.

P. T. RAJU.—*An Unnoticed Aspect of Gauḍapāda's Māṇḍūkya-kārikās.* The discussion points out that Gauḍapāda, an exponent of the Upaniṣadic Advaita views, was very much influenced by the ferment of the philosophical ideas of his time. He has incorporated into his *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās* not only the tenets of the Buddhist Vijñānavāda but also the concepts of the Spanda doctrine of Śaivaism, which though developed in Kashmir in later days, must have been current earlier than the 7th century A.C.

BIMALACHARAN DEB.—*Notes on a few Words.* The notes bring to light

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Ibid., vol. XII, no. 4 (April-June, 1946)

N. N. GHOSH.—*The Origin and Development of Caste System in India.*

B. A. SALETORE.—*The Śākaṭāyana Problem.* Pūjyapāda, the famous Jaina monk of the fifth century is reputed to have written a commentary on Śākaṭāyana's grammar. There were two Sanskrit grammarians bearing the name Śākaṭāyana. The one is found referred to in the *Nirukta* and the *Prātiśākhyas*, and could not therefore be later than the seventh century B.C. The other was a Jaina author, whose work *Śabdānuśāsana* has come down to us and is better known as *Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇa.* On this grammar, Śākaṭāyana himself has written a gloss called *Amoghavṛtti*, in which we are informed that the author lived at the court of Amoghavarṣa. As this king has been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga reigning in the second half of the ninth century, Pūjyapāda's reputed commentary must have been on the work of the earlier Śākaṭāyana and not on the Jaina grammar *Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇa.*

DOROTHY A. L. STEDE.—*Two Standard Symbols in Indian Philosophy: Jar and Cloth.* The discussion shows how in the works of different schools of Indian philosophy, the example of the jar (ghaṭa) and cloth (paṭa) has been used to illustrate the different theories and points of view.

B. C. LAW.—*Jaina Canonical Sūtras (I).* The paper deals with the important texts of the Jaina canon like the *Uttarādhyayana, Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and *Ācārāṅga* which contain information of varied nature regarding history, geography, religion and philosophy.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. III, pts. 3 and 4 (May-August, 1946)

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Meditation on the Īśāvāsyopaniṣad.* The mystic nature of the last four verses (15-18) of the *Īśopaniṣad* has been explained.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*Indian Martial Tradition.* The *Mahābhārata, Arthaśāstra* and the Śangam literature of the Tamils as also the Rajput traditions of recent times show that actuated by a love of glory, the Indian soldier could fight well and with a high sense of discipline. He usually followed the rules and customs of war, and though very daring, did not indulge in indiscriminate attacks.

P. K. GODE.—*The Gandhayukti Section of the Viṣṇudharmottara and its Relation to other Texts on the Gandhaśāstra.* An extract is reproduced from the *Viṣṇudharmottara* describing the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumery. The texts of the *Agnipurāṇa* on the subject have been compared.

A section of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Khaṇḍa II, chap. 64) describes the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumery which can well be com-

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pared with the *Gandhayukti* verses of the *Agnipurāṇa*. Extracts from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and the *Mānasollāsa* reproduced here indicate the extent of use of perfumes (dhūpa) in sacred and secular spheres of Indian life.

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*Nārāyaṇa Kumbhārī, his Works and Date.* The Scindia Oriental Institute of Ujjain possesses Mss. of Nārāyaṇa's *Prāyaścittamālikā*, a work on expiation for faults arising from irregularities in the performance of sacrificial rites. The details recorded in the work show that the author belonged to a learned Brāhmaṇa family surnamed Kumbhārī, lived at Pratiṣṭhāna in the Deccan, and composed another treatise called *Smārtadīpikā*. He has been assigned to the 18th century.

TARA SANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*The Five Provisional Definitions of Vyāpti (Vyāptipañcaka) in Gaṅgeśa.*

H. G. NARAHARI.—*An Advaitic Account of the Theory of Karma.* The paper funishes an exposition of the doctrine of Karma from the Advaitic point of view as given in the *Prārabhadhvāntasaṃhṛti* of Acyutaśarma Modak, a writer of the 19th century. The work which is still in manuscript is based on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the writings of well-known Advaita exponents like Sarvajñātman Vidyāraṇya and Madusūdana Sarasvatī.

V. B. ATHAVALE.—*The Relation of the Gītā with the Ṛgveda.* The sources of certain verses and ideals as also names of prominent personages found in the Gītā are traced to the Ṛgvedic texts.

H. L. SARMA.—*A Critical Survey of Indian Aesthetics.* This survey discusses the historical development of the aesthetic sense in India as evidence in the relics of art and texts of poetry of different ages, and gives an account of the ancient schools of aesthetic theory as recorded in the works of poetics. The principle of sonus and symbolism as adopted in the Art of India has also been discussed in the paper.

M. V. KIBE.—*Vālmīki's Āśrama located in Oudh.*

R. M. SHASTRI.—*Full Light on the real Site of the Bharadvājāśrama.* The texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* relating to the journey of Rāma and his party from Śṛṅgaverapura to the hermitage of Bharadvāja have been interpreted and explained pointing to the fact that the Bharadvājāśrama, occupying an area of more than two miles was situated in Allahabad 22 miles from Singraur (ancient Śṛṅgaverapura).

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1946, parts 1 & 2

F. W. THOMAS.—*Sanskrit 'jenya'.* The word *jenya* and its cognates occurring in the Vedic literature are interpreted variously by various scholars. The meaning suggested here is 'guarded' or 'cared for' which fits in well in the particular contexts. The suggestion receives support from occurrences of the kindred words in the Kharoṣṭhī

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Prakrit documents from Chinese Turkestan as also from uses of the corresponding Avestan, Parthian and Sogdian forms.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.—*The Rāmāyaṇa.* A version of Rāma's story from Ceylon.

JOHN BROUGH.—*The Early History of the Gotras.* The term *gotra* has, in course of time, changed its connotation. It now denotes the exogamus group as well as the individual families within the group.

T. BURROW.—*The Date of Śyāmilaka's Pādatāḍitaka.* Śyāmilaka's *Pādatāḍitaka*, which contains a good many references to contemporary peoples, places and individuals, is a *Bhāṇa* type of drama included in the *Caturbhāṇī*, a collection of four Bhāṇas by different authors. The details supplied by the work point to its being composed at the time of a powerful Gupta emperor in the first quarter of the fifth century A.C.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XV, pt. I (July, 1946)

P. K. GODE.—*The History of the Jaṭāśaṃkara Temple at Nandurbar.* The temple of *Jaṭāśaṃkara* (Śiva) at Nandurbar Taluka in Khandesh is now in ruins. Hari Kavi, who was a contemporary of king Sambhāji son of Śivāji the Great, and who composed in 1885 his *Śambhurājacarita*, a biography of Sambhāji, has described in his *Haihayendra-carita* the town of Nandidvāra (Nandurbar) as an abode of prosperity, deriving its name from Nandin, or Siva's bull. A stone image of bull stands at the entrance (dvāra) of the Jaṭāśaṃkara temple.

J. P. DESAI.—*Punishment and Penance in Manusmṛti.* A studdy from the sociological point of view.

D. P. KHANAPUKAR.—*Gayan, an Adivasi tribe of South Gujarat: its subdivisions and their formation.*

Ibid., vol .XV, pt. 2 (September, 1946)

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala VIII.* Twenty-two hymns to Indra (32-34; 36, 37; 45, 46; 49-54, 61-66; 68-70) occurring in the 8th Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* have been translated into English and annotated.

K. R. POTDAR.—*Āprī Hymns in the Ṛgveda.* After having dealt with the evidence of Vedic literature and the Avesta on the nature of the Āprī hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, and having discussed in detail the character and functions of the Āprī deities, the paper points out their association with the sacrificial rituals.

G. K. BHAT.—*Svapnavāsavadattam : A Critical Study of Plot and Plot-construction.*

P. K. GODE.—*Śṛṅgārālāpa—A big Anthology of Śṛṅgāra verses by Rāma and its rare Manuscript dated A.D. 1556.*

H. R. KAPADIA.—*The Doctrine of Ahiṃsā in the Jaina Canon.*

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

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New lights on the history of Assam.*

Introductory

The latest and the best attempt to piece together the history of Assam was made by the late lamented Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur, in his *Early History of Kāmarūpa* (1933). Some important new materials, have, however, come to light in the mean time, which make it necessary that the whole subject should be re-assessed and the new items of information fitted to proper places, to make up a more complete picture.

1. Aryan Expansion in Assam

I shall mention only a few broad facts about the Aryan expansion in Assam, as, in a discourse based mainly on archaeology, there is little room for theories and statements that cannot be convincingly proved.

The date of the Aryan migration to India is now generally placed about 3000 B.C. In the monumental work *Mahenjodāro and Indus Civilisation*, edited by Sir John Marshall, Dr. S. Langdon, Professor of Assyriology, Oxford University, takes cognisance of the theory which puts the event between 3200 and 2800 B.C (p. 431) and he is inclined to believe "that the Aryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race" (p. 432), though Sir John Marshall does not find his way to go against the orthodox theory, which puts the event at about 1500 B.C. Without entering into the intricacies of the debate, I shall put before my readers a simple method of finding out the date of the great battle of Kurukṣetra. I refer to the well-known verse found in all the *purāṇas*

* First lecture in the series—"Pratibhā Devī Memorial Lectures," 1943, sponsored by the Government of Assam from donation made by the late Mr. S. C. Goswami. Delivered at Curzon Hall, Gauhati, the 26th Aug., 1944. For the second lecture in the series—"The empire-builders of Assam," see *I.H.Q.* XXI. 1945. p. 19 ff. For the third lecture—"Assam during 1150—1250 A.D." *I.H.Q.*, XXII. March, 1946. p. 1 ff.

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that give dynastic lists, viz. *Matsya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata*.

यावत् परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

"From the birth of Parīkṣita to the coronation of Nanda, one thousand years increased by fifteen are to be known."

It has been proved by myself in the April number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* ("Maurya chronology and connected problems.") that Candragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty came to the throne in 313 B.C., the accepted date of 321 or 322 B.C. being proved to be wrong. It is well-known that Candragupta with the help of his famous minister Cāṇakya ousted the last Nanda king from the throne of Pāṭalīputra, and the Nanda dynasty is given one hundred years, unanimously by all the Purāṇas. Now, all these facts give us three clear data, viz. 313 B.C. for the coronation of Candragupta Maurya, 100 years for the Nandas and 1015 years as the interval between the birth of Parīkṣita and the rise of the Nandas. These three figures added together (313+100+1015=1428) give us the year 1428 B. C. as the year of the birth of Parīkṣita and the battle of Kurukṣetra.

With the acceptance of this date for this great event in the history of India, we land on sure grounds for the cultural and political history of the country. The *Mahābhārata* presents us with a picture of Aryan India, already colonised and occupied culturally and politically up to the eastern frontiers of Assam. But we have to note that Bhagadatta is the king of Assam who figures in the battle of Kurukṣetra, and the Pauranic legends start with his father Naraka. The spread of Aryan culture in Assam, and its inclusion into the North Indian Aryan politics may therefore be dated about 1500 B. C.

Many scholars are of opinion that the Kalitās of Assam are the remnants of a band of pre-Vedic Aryans, who entered India before the coming of the Vedic Aryans and were driven by the pressure of the later comers to this outlying province. As is well-known, theories like these cannot be archaeologically proved.

If the Kalitās are really a pre-Vedic class of Aryans, who migrated to India before the caste system had time to crystallize among the Vedic Aryans, the Kalitā civilisation of Assam must be pronounced to be older than anything Aryan that Northern India can boast of. In the absence of any record, Pauranic or otherwise about the Kalitās we have at present to begin with Bhagadatta, whom we find joining in the great Kurukṣetra battle against the Pāṇḍavas.

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In fact, the whole of Eastern India was anti-Kṛṣṇa and anti-Pāṇḍava during the period of the Mahābhārata war. Though the enchanting player on the flute is now a complete conqueror of even outlying regions like Manipur, his fighting nature, the wielder of the discus, found the whole of Eastern India up in arms against him during his days of political activity. It would appear that during this period, Bengal was divided into four principalities, viz., Vaṅga, Tāmralipta, Suhma and Puṇḍra. Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam was under the elderly Bhagadatta. They all owed allegience to Jarāsandha, the mighty emperor of Magadha, of whom, the whole of India stood in terror. The Yādavas of Mathurā formed during this period a powerful oligarchical community. One of their chiefs, Kaṃsa, grown powerful by having married the two daughters of Jarāsandha had made himself king of the Yādavas and was tyrannizing over the oligarchy and flouting its democratic character. The youthful Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma rid the oligarchy of this tyrant, by killing him in open combat. This bold self-assertion drew the wrath of the emperor of Magadha upon the oligarchy, and though the Yādava chiefs repelled a formidable invasion of Mathurā by Jarāsandha, they considered it prudent to leave Mathurā in a body and migrate to distant Kathiāwār. There the Yādavas repaired the impregnable hill fortress of Dvāravatī, present Junagarh, and lived in security. (Vide *I.H.Q.*, 1934, pp. 541 ff.—"Location of Kṛṣṇa's capital Dvāravatī" by the present writer.)

The most powerful kings of Bengal and Assam during the period were Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva of North Bengal and Bhagadatta of Assam. We find both of them mentioned in the *Svayaṃvara* of Draupadī and in the enumeration of Kṛṣṇa in the Sabhāparva (Ch. 13 in the Bhandarkar Institute edition) of powerful kings who had bowed down to Jarāsandha. After the death of Jarāsandha in a wrestling bout with Bhīma, we find these two kings humbled by the Pāṇḍavas, Vāsudeva by Bhīma and Bhagadatta by Arjuna. We find both of them present thereafter in the Rājasūya sacrifice.

Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva was a staunch opponent of Kṛṣṇa and delighted in mocking Kṛṣṇa by wearing his special insignias like Śaṃkha, Cakra etc. If appears from the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* that during the thirteen years' exile of the Pāṇḍavas, he invaded Mathurā by allying himself with a Niṣāda chief called Ekalavya and made a furious night attack on Dvāravatī and succeeded in storming its eastern gate during the absence of Kṛṣṇa. The timely arrival of Kṛṣṇa saved the situation and Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva was killed. Thereafter, he disappears from history and we find him absent in the battle of Kurukṣetra.

The aged Bhagadatta, however, joined the Kauravas in the great

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battle and wrought havoc on the Pāṇḍava forces with his well-equipped elephant battalions. We are delighted to follow the heroic exploits of this aged giant. In the Droṇaparva, it is recorded that one day he nearly killed Bhīma, and the reputed hero wriggled with difficulty out of the clutches of Bhagadatta's elephant and narrowly escaped with his life. Next day, when Kṛṣṇa foiled his *Vaiṣṇavāstra* aimed at Arjuna, the latter killed him by a stratagem and not in a straight fight.

2. *The Kingdom of This*

Here ends the Pauranik history of Prāgjyotiṣa, and along with the rest of India, a dark period sets in for Prāgjyotiṣa for about one thousand years. We have no means of knowing if the province was included in the North Indian empire of Candragupta and Aśoka. The indications are to the contrary, because the flood of Buddhism which reached its high water mark during the reign of Aśoka, appears to have left Assam untouched. But we have two important pieces of authentic evidence to show that the country continued to prosper and maintain commercial relations with the rest of India. One other piece of evidence points unmistakably to the state of religion that prevailed in the country.

Prof. Jogesh Candra Roy was the first scholar to draw our attention to the fact that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya contained references to the silk and perfumes produced in Assam.[1] The *Arthaśāstra* mentions a place called Suvarṇakuḍya from which came excellent silken fabrics, and Professor Roy located the place in Assam. In the *Indian Culture* for 1939, vol. V. No. 3 and in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society* for the same year, vol. VII, p. 24 ff. Prof. Nalni Nath Das Gupta of the Calcutta University adverted to the subject again and pointed out that Suvarṇakuḍya, which was in Kāmarūpa according to Bhaṭṭasvāmī the commentator on Kauṭilīya Arthaśātra, not only produced in Kauṭilya's time the finest silk, but also produced a kind of perfume called Taiḷaparṇikā. The latter is recorded to have been produced in several other places, at least six of which are located by commentators in Kāmarūpa. The Agaru and the Candana produced in some of the places also find mention in Kauṭilya. The late Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur, in an addendum to Prof. Das Gupta's article, attempted to identify th e place-names and the commercial products named by Kauṭilya. It is always hazardous to identify names, thousand years old, with modern names, but Rai Bahadur Barua's identification of Suvarṇakuḍya with modern Sonkudihā in the present Kamrup district, 9

1 *JBORS.*, 1917, June.

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miles distant from Hajo, appears to be the one little open to objection. Any way if we accept the identification of the commentators on the *Arthaśāstra*, many of these places were situated inside Kāmarūpa wherever their present location may be, and as such they serve to show that Assam and its products were well-known in Maurya India, and the latter served to make the country prosperous.

The *second* piece of evidence is a very interesting one and has not, I am afraid, been properly interpreted by any previous scholar. This is a description of the kingdom of *This* at the end of the famous Greek work compiled in the 1st century A. D. known under the name of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. In describing a cruise along the Bengal coast from west to east the author writes :—

"Sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land towards the east, Chryse. There is a river near it called the Ganges, and it rises and falls in the same way as the Nile. On its bank is a market town which has the same name as the river, Ganges. Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic. It is said that there are gold mines near these places and there is a gold coin which is called *caltis*. And just opposite this river there is an island in the ocean, the last part of the inhabited world toward the east under the rising sun itself; it is called Chryse; and it has the best tortoise shell of all the places on the Erythraean Sea."

I have quoted this passage in extenso so that my readers may judge for themselves. I am constrained to remark that all scholars beginning from Gerini, whose work—"Researches on Ptolemy's Geography." is well-known; and Schoff, the editor of the best edition of the *Periplus* down to Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his notable work *Suvarṇadvīpa*, (vol. I, chapter IV, pages. 37ff) appear to have missed the significance of this particular passage. In my article "Antiquity of Lower Ganges and its Courses" (*Science and Culture*, Nov. 1941) I have made an attempt to clear the complications. When the author of the *Periplus* makes such a pointed reference that just opposite (the mouth of) the river Ganges, there is an island in the ocean called Chryse, meaning Golden, then instead of roaming to Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, as Dr. Majumdar and other scholars do, we should immediately recognise that *Sondvīp* at the mouth of the united waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra is being spoken of, and no other place. The author of the *Periplus* also knew of the market-town Ganges which, he says, stood on the Ganges, but which, according to Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes should be placed directly to the south (slightly west) of the present town of Khulna. Any way the location of the Golden Island in the

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ocean opposite the river Ganges cannot be mistaken and the island must be identified with the present Sondvīp Island.

Periplus's description of the country of *This* follows immediately:-

"After this region under the very north, the sea outside ending in a land called *This* there is a very great inland city called Thinae, from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through Bactria to Barygaza and are also exported to Daminica by way of the river Ganges. But the land of *This* is not easy of access; few men come from there and seldom. The country lies under the Lesser Bear and is said to border on the farthest part of Pontus and the Caspian Sea, next to which lies Lake Maeotis, all of which empty into the ocean".

It will be remembered that the mouth of the Ganges and the Island of gold i.e. present Sondvīp being talked of, immediately after which the above passage occurs. Unfortunately, translation from the original Greek by Mr. Schoff has left some passages rather obscure. In the first sentence, we are told parenthetically that "the sea outside ends in a land called *This*." As the passage begins with a direction to the north, to any man of common sense, the passage would mean that at the end of the gulf to the north stood the country of *This* and still more to the north, close to the arctic zones, the Black Sea (Pontus) and the Caspian Sea, stood the city called Thinae. Mr. Schoff, in his notes (p. 261) has recognised in Thinae, the country of China and its great western state *Ts'in*, but has confused it with *This* which began according to the Periplus, at the end of the head-waters of the gulf of the Ganges. It appears to me clear that two different countries are being spoken of; one *This* beginning from the head-waters of the gulf of the Ganges and extending northwards to inaccessible places; and the other *Thinae* still further north extending to the arctic regions and to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. When we remember that Bhagadatta is described in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā: Ch. 34. Bhandarkar Institute edition, Ch. 31—*ślokas* 9 and 10) as present in the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira with his hosts of Mlecchas and dwellers of the sea-coast, and when we take note of the fact that in historical times the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa included Sylhet, Tippera and Noakhali districts and thus extended up to the sea-coast at the head-waters of the Gulf of the Ganges, we at once realise that the author of the *Periplus*, in talking of *This*, is really meaning Prāgjyotiṣa. He calls the kingdom *This* after the last part of the actual name, Prāgjyotiṣa, the first portion of the long name having proved too much for him. The other name Thinae, as recognised by Schoff and other scholars really refers to China, the land of silk after which the stuff became known as Cīnāṁsuka, the fabric of China.

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I have shown above that the hitherto unidentified country of *This* is none else than Prāgjyotiṣa. The manner in which the well-known malabathrum or *Tejpat* trade of the country of *This* is referred to in the next paragraph will make this clear :—

"Every year on the borders of the land of *This* there comes together a tribe of men with short bodies and broad flat faces and by nature peaceable; they are called *Besatae*, and are almost entirely uncivilised. They come with their wives and children, carrying great packs and plaited baskets of what looks like green grape leaves. They meet in a place between their own country and the land of *This*. There they hold a feast for several days, spreading out the baskets under themselves as mats, and then return to their own places in the interior."

The Besatae appear to me to be none else than the Bhutiyas who carry on the overland trade with the northern districts of Assam and the Darjeeling and the Jalpaiguri districts of Bengal through the various Duars or passes. The annual fairs on the borderland which attract them are well-known and I can just call to mind the great fair at the temple of Jalpeś in Jalpaiguri District during the *Śivarātri* festival. Several more fairs are likely to exist all along the borderland of Bhutan and Assam and Periplus's description of the custom shows that thay have been held in this region from time immemorial.

"And then the natives watching them come into that place and gather up their mats; and they pick out from the braids, the fibres which they call *petri*. They lay the leaves close together in several layers and make them into balls which they pierce with the fibres from the mats. And there are three sorts; those made of the largest leaves are called the large-ball malabathrum; those of the smaller, the medium ball; and those of the smallest, the small ball. Thus there exist three sorts of malabathrum, and it is brought into India by those who prepare it."

The above is a rather confused account of the procurement, packing and marketing of the *Tezpāt*. *Tezpāt* in Sanskrit is called simply *patra*, and Periplus actually calls the commodity by this Sanskrit name. The Bhutiyas who came to the border fairs of Prāgjyotiṣa with this commodity are easily recognised by their short bodies, broad flat faces and peaceable nature. The packing of the leaves in wicker work baskets and their gradation in classes are followed even up to the present time. In Shillong, in the Jaiaw quarter of the town, by the bank of the hill stream *Umkhrā*, I found *Tezpat* trees growing wild and Mr. Hunter also, in his statistical account of Assam notes the fact in describing the produce of the Khasi Hills. Mr. Gordon in his monograph on the Khasis, on p. 47

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gives an account of the extensive *Tezpāt* gardens in the Khasi States. This commodity of every day use among the Indians, which now grows wild in the hill districts of Assam and is exported so largely to outside markets, appears in the first century A. D., to have been obtained from the Bhutiyas with some trouble.

One point worthy of note that emerges, if we accept the proposed identification of *This* with Prāgjyotiṣa, is that the kingdom, even in the first century A. D., a period for which we have no political record, extended up to the gulf of the Meghna, probably up to the Noakhali and Chittagong coasts.

Another important fact worth noting is that in the region about the mouth of the Ganges, a gold coin called *caltis* was current. Probably it was nothing else than our good old *Kārṣā* the coin prevalent in India from pre-Maurya times up to as late as the 4th century A. D.

The *third* piece of evidence relates to the religious condition of the country. We have it, on the testimony of Hiuen Tsang that even up to his visit to Kāmarūpa about 640 A. D., the country continued to remain a stronghold of the Vedic and Pauranik religion. In the pages of the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, there was a controversy as to whether there had been Buddhist penetration in Assam. Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghose cited instances from my *Iconography*, of the find of Buddhist images from Sylhet (vol. IV, p. 47ff). But Hiuen Tsang went to the Brahmaputra valley and naturally referred to the conditions he found obtaining there; and the find of some Buddhist images in the Surma valley in Sylhet and Kachar should not be put up as evidences against the clear statement of an orthodox Buddhist scholar like Hiuen Tsang. Buddhism may have subsequently entered into the Brahmaputra valleys, but up to the time of Hiuen Tsang it was nowhere to be seen in Assam. As is well-known, some Vedic customs and festivals like Bihu still prevail in Assam and are honoured as national festivals. No doubt, therefore, should be entertained against the veracity of Hiuen Tsang. It is gratifying to find that the great flood of Buddhism which swept all over India under the patronage of Aśoka left Assam undisturbed and the kingdom of the Mleccha Naraka and Bhagadatta continued to remain the last and the most impregnable stronghold of the Vedic religion

N. K. BHATTASALI*

* We have to announce with a heavy heart the departure of another renowned contributor of ours from this world. He sent us this article some time back but has not lived to revise the proofs. He has made very valuable contributions to Indology.—Editor.

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The Afghan War of Succession (1863-1869)*

British policy of recognising two rulers in Afghanistan

In the meantime active preparations were being made by the rival parties for the final encounter. The news of the fall of his capital roused Sher Ali "from his torpor like the sound of battle to a war horse.[139] Towards the end of April 1866 Sher Ali marched from Candahar[140] and occupied Ghaznee,,[141] thus compelling Abdur Rehman who had advanced from Sheikhabad to retreat from Ghaznee.[142] On 9th May 1866 Sher Ali encountered the forces of Abdur Rehman near Sheikhabad.[143] After an exchange of artillery shots which lasted from morning till night, severe fighting raged from morning until noon of 10th May.[144] Unfortunately for Sher Ali, Azim had advanced from Deh Muzung and joined the army of Abdur Rehman on 10th May.[145] Inspite of the fact that he was fighting against heavy odds, Sher Ali conducted the campaign in such a brilliant manner that victory seemed to be almost within his grasp.[146] But even his great military genius could not withstand the shock of treachery and when three regiments of Candaharees deserted from the field to the other side and the cavalry of the Candaharees also stood aloof from the battle, Sher Ali recognising that the battle was lost, fled to Ghaznee.[147] In this battle of Sheikhabad "the impetuosity of Sher Ali proved unavailing against the tactical skill of Azim."[148] Sher Ali strengthened his position at Candahar.[149] Afzal Khan was proclaimed Ameer of Cabul on 25th May 1866[150] and on 30th May he wrote to Lord Lawrence—"I hope that the same relations of friendship which subsisted between the British Government and my father may be maintained between me and that Government."[151] The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab was of opinion that it would be premature to recognise Afzal as Ameer

* Continued from p. 219

139 Boulger, *England and Russia in Central Asia*, ii, p. 179.
140 Diary 27 Apl. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; May 1866; No. 138.
141 Letter from Moonshee 7 May 1866; Pol. A. Progs; May 1866; No. 209.
142 Diary 27 Apl. 1866 *op. cit.*
143 Letter from Moonshee 11 May 1866; Pol. A. Progs; June 1866; No. 11.
144 *Ibid.* 145 *Ibid.* 146 *Ibid.* 147 *Ibid.*
148 Boulger, *Central Asian Portraits*, p. 63.
149 Letter from Moonshee 31 May 1866; Pol. A. Progs; June 1866; No. 122.
150 Letter from Moonshee 26 May 1866; Pol. A. Progs; June 1866; No. 142.
151 Afzal to Lawrence 30 May 1866; Pol. A. Progs; June 1866; No. 155.

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of Afghanistan, especially as Sher Ali held possession of Candahar, Khelat-i-Ghilzie and Herat.[152] On 11th July 1866 Lord Lawrence despatched a Khureeta to Afzal Khan, Walee of Cabul, which contained the historic declaration of the policy pursued by Sir John Lawrence towards Afghanistan.[153] "It is the earnest will of the British Government that friendship should be perpetuated. But while I am desirous that the alliance between the two Governments should be firm and lasting, it is incumbent on me to tell your Highness that it would be inconsistent with the fame and reputation of the British Government to break off its alliance with Ameer Sher Ali Khan, who has given to it no offence, so long as he retains his authority and power over a large portion of Afghanistan. The Ameer still rules in Candahar and in Herat."

"My friend: the relations of this Government are with the actual Rulers of Afghanistan. If Your Highness is able to consolidate Your Highness's power in Cabul, and is sincerely desirous of being a friend and ally of the British Government, I shall be ready to accept Your Highness as such. But I cannot break the existing engagements with Ameer Sher Ali Khan, and I must continue to treat him as the Ruler of that portion of Afghanistan over which he retains control."[154]

The British policy of recognizing two Rulers in Afghanistan was bitterly disliked by the party in power at Cabul.[155] Azim's comments on the Viceroy's khureeta show the trend of this feeling—"It is difficult for any other nation to get on with the English. The meaning of the letter would appear to be that the English desire that our family should exterminate one another."[156] In other words Azim was under the impression that the British Government was deliberately following the selfish policy of weakening Afghanistan by prolonging the civil war. That the British Government was not open to the charge of fomenting the internal disorders of Afghanistan is clear from the following reply given by the Punjab Government to the request of Sher Ali for assistance in the shape of 6,000 muskets and a suitable sum of money[157]—"As the desire of this Government to see the members of the Ameer's family reconciled is thoroughly sincere, it being neither the desire nor the interest of the British Government that the Afghan nation should be weakened by internal dissensions; the request which this letter professes to convey is not one to which at the present time Government could readily accede; its aim being to maintain friendly communications with

152 Punjab Govt. to Govt. of India 9 June 1866; Pol. A. Progs; 1866; No. 153.
153 Khureeta to Afzal 11 July 1866; Pol. A. Progs; July 1866; No. 57.
154 *Ibid*
155 Diary 10 to 13 Aug. 1866 Pol. A Progs; Sep. 1866; No. 29.
156 Moonshee to Com. 6 Aug. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Aug. 1866; No. 172.
157 Sher Ali to Moonshee Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1866; No. 39.

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all the members of the late Ameer's family, and by no means to do anything which could aggravate their disputes."[158]

Russian successes in Bokhara encouraged Azim and Afzal to hope that the British Government would help them to check the further advance of Russia towards Afghanistan.[159] They were disillusioned by the reply of the British Government which thought it necessary "to disabuse the Cabul rulers of the impression that our Government regards the operations of Russia with hostility or alarm." "that the most friendly relations exist between the Punjab Government and that of Russia, and there appears to be no reason to apprehend that Russia has any wish to molest those who are in friendly relations with this Government."[160]

Another incident illustrates clearly Lord Lawrence's policy of masterly inactivity.' Shureef Khan after quarreling with Sher Ali retired towards the end of December 1866 with a small force to Shalkote, the frontier town of Beloochistan and was entertained as a guest by the Khan of Khelat.[161] Although he was residing as a guest in neutral territory, he attempted to raise a force in the interest of the Cabul rulers.[162] This was a good pretext for Sir Henry Green (one of the chief exponents of the Forward School) to suggest to Mr. Mansfield, the Commissioner in Sindh, that the Khan of Khelat should be called upon to expel Shureef Khan from Khelat territory and that Lt. Col. Malcolm be given a small force to patrol the mountain country between the head of the Gundava and Bolan Passes and that a Belooch regiment be ordered to the frontier.[163] Mr. Mansfield recommended to the Bombay Government that the Khan of Khelat should be helped to expel Shureef from Beloochistan in case the latter did not return to Cabul or refused to live at Kurachee.[164] The Bombay Government generally agreed with Mr. Mansfield's suggestions.[165] The Government of India admitted the inexpediency of allowing Shureef or any other Afghan chief "to find an asylum in Beloochistan, and there to organize measures for the assistance of either of the contending

158 Punjab Govt. to Govt. of India 28 Aug. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1866; No. 30.

159 Letter to Moonshee by Azim and Afzal 23 Nov. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Dec. 1866; No. 125.

160 Letter from Punjab Govt. to Govt. of India 8 Dec. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Dec. 1866; No. 124.

161 Political Agent, Beloochistan to Green, 28 Dec. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 40.

162 *Ibid.*

163 Green to Mansfield 28 Dec. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 40.

164 Mansfield to Bombay Govt. 15 Jan. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 40.

165 Bom. Govt. to Govt. of India 25 Jan. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 39.

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parties in Afghanistan. Such permission would no doubt lead to complications between the Khan of Khelat and the Afghan factions."[166] The Government of India however did not encourage the forward policy advocated by Sir Henry Green—"The Government of India sees no necessity for any military promenade in Beloochistan. On the contrary, it considers that such a proceeding would have an injurious effect in Afghanistan and lead to the supposition that we were desirous of interfering in the internal struggle to which that country is a prey."[167]

Afzal—Walee of Cabul and Candahar

Azim and Afzal made preparations for the final defeat of Sher Ali's forces. Sher Ali's chances of success increased considerably, particularly when Fyz Muhammad, Governor of Turkistan, annoyed with the Cabul Sirdars,[168] entered into engagements of amity with Sher Ali,[169] who was making feverish preparations at Candahar for the final conflict.[170] Azim was at the same time not following a policy of moderation; Rufeek was brutually murdered.[171] Fyz Muhammud advanced from Turkistan to Ghoree.[172] The Cabul force under Muhammud Sarwur was at Bamean.[173] Azim's policy was to concentrate his attack mainly against Sher Ali, while encouraging Sarwur to hold Fyz Muhammud in check. This policy bore fruit. On 16th and 17th January 1867 was fought the decisive battle of Khelat-i-Ghilzie.[174] Azim's superior tactics decided the battle in his favour. Sher Ali attacked the Cabul army and was received with a fire from some light guns, which immediately afterwards retired.[175] Sher Ali fell into the trap laid for him; he ordered his troops to advance.[176] They had advanced a short distance only when the whole of the enemy's artillery opened on them, causing heavy losses and the battle ended in the total defeat of Sher Ali's forces.[177]

On 3rd February 1867 Afzal communicated the news of this victory to Sir John Lawrence.[178] The Punjab Government wrote to the Govern-

166 Govt. of India to Bom. Govt. 6 Feb. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 42.
167 *Ibid.*
168 Moonshee's letter 23 June 1866; Pol. A. Progs; July 1866; No. 58.
169 Diary 20 to 23 July 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Aug. 1866; No. 67.
170 Green to Govt. of India 13 Aug, 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Aug. 1866; No. 132.
171 Moonshee's letter 26 Aug. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1866; No. 106.
172 Diary 18 Sep. to 28 Sep. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1866; No. 104.
173 Diary 30 Nov. 1866; Pol. A. Progs; Dec. 1866; No. 165, and Diary 7 to 14 Jan. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 37.
174 Letter from Candahar 28 Jan. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 80.
175 *Ibid.* 176 *Ibid.* 177 *Ibid.*
178 Khureeta from Afzal to Lawrence 3 Feb. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 176.

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ment of India that as Afzal was in full possession of both Cabul and Candahar, the title of Ameer should no longer be withheld, even though it was not certain what might be the fate of Herat.[179] On 25th February 1867, Sir John Lawrence wrote to Afzal—"Your Highness must pardon my saying that I feel pity for Ameer Sher Ali Khan personally. He succeeded Your Highness's renowned father as the ally of the British Government, and he adhered to the alliance giving me no cause of offence at any time. Nevertheless the general welfare of the great Barukzye house and of the Afghan people has higher claims upon my consideration With great sorrow and solicitude I have, for three years past, seen that house and people a prey to the most calamitous dissensions. I am disposed therefore to hail hopefully any event which may tend to bring Afghanistan nearer to the attainment of a stable peace and strong government under one of the sons of Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan."

"My friend! the British Government has hitherto maintained a strict neutrality between the contending parties in Afghanistan."

"My friend! as I told your Highness in my former letter, the relations of the British Government are with the actual Rulers of Afghanistan. Therefore so long as the Ameer Sher Ali Khan holds Herat and maintains friendship with the British Government I shall recognize him as ruler of Herat, and shall reciprocate his amity. But upon the same principle I am prepared to recognise Your Highness as Ameer of Cabul and Candahar, and I frankly offer Your Highness, in that capacity, peace and the goodwill of the British Government."[180]

Sher Ali's attempt to secure the help of the Shah of Persia

While Sher Ali fled to Herat,[181] the position of Fyz Muhammud also became untenable: he retired to Turkestan.[182] Sher Ali and Fyz Muhammud renewed their alliance by swearing on the Koran at Mazar Shareef on 28th June 1867.[183] At this time when his fortune was at its lowest ebb Sher Ali seems to have made an effort to secure the help of the Shah of Persia. The Shah of Persia sent an envoy to Herat to Sher Ali with the offer of alliance.[184] Sher Ali's son, Yakoob Khan, received the envoy with great honour and sent the papers to Sher Ali who wrote to his son as follows:—"I expect nothing from the British Government. The English look to nothing but their own interests and bide their time; whosoever side they see stronger for the time they turn to him

179 Punjab Govt. to Govt. of India 15 Feb. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 175.
180 Khurceta to Afzal 25 Feb. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1867; No. 177.
181 Diary 22 to 28 Feb. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; March 1867; No. 28.
182 Diary 28 Apl. to 4 May 1867; Pol. A. Progs; May 1867; No. 168.
183 Afghanistan Affairs 28 June 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Aug. 1867; No. 20.
184 Afghanistan Affairs; Pol. A. Progs; No. 20; Sep. 1867.

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as their friend. At present as the King of Persia himself seeks my alliance, you should proceed to his presence and enter into treaty as he may desire."[185] Sher Ali however informed the Cabul Moonshee that though he had sent his son Yakub Khan to wait on the Shah of Persia he had formed no alliance with the Shah.[186]

Nowhere does Sir John Lawrence's policy of 'masterly inactivity' finds its best illustration than in relation to this incident. A Government eager to fish in troubled waters would have found this a good pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. But Sir John Lawrence refused to be swept off his feet. He recognised that having been disappointed in securing British help there was nothing improbable in the report of Sher Ali's attempted alliance with the Shah of Persia.[187] But at the time it was just possible that the Cabul rulers had given currency to this rumour and exaggerated considerably its effects in order to discredit Sher Ali.[188] In case the rumour turned out to be true that Sher Ali had made overtures to Persia and that in consequence terms of mutual aid and concession had been concluded between the two powers, then the British Government would declare the treaty existing with Sher Ali at an end and would openly assist the party in power at Cabul, if that party should appear to be in a condition likely with such assistance to hold its position against Sher Ali.[189] "Our aid would be confined to a moderate subsidy of money, and a supply of arms and accoutrements. The moral and material help thus rendered would go a great way to give the party at Cabul, in such active alliance with ourselves, a clear and unassailable supremacy."[190] The Government of India thought that such an alliance with the Afghans would not be displeasing to them. "Although the Afghans are proverbially fickle and venal to the last degree, yet we apprehend that there would be motives rendering such action on our part not displeasing to them. The inhabitants of Herat are allied more to the Afghan race than to that of Persia. Any predominance of Persian interests would be unpalatable to the Chiefs of Afghanistan. The Persians are disliked in consequence of both national and religious antipathies."[191] Sir John Lawrence also defined the policy to be followed, if Sher Ali, with the help of Persia, regained the throne of Cabul. "In that event, we think that the value he is known to attach to the countenance of the British Government, would enable us to detach him from any such engagements. But if otherwise, and it were ascertained that he con-

185 Afghanistan Affairs; Pol. A. Progs; No. 20; Sep. 1867.
186 Pollock to Punjab Govt. 3 Sep. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1867; No. 114.
187 Foreign-Secret Despatch to Lord Northcote; No. 3; 3 Sep. 1867.
188 *Ibid.*
189 *Ibid.*
190 *Ibid.*
191 *Ibid.*

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tinued bound to Persia in a manner inconsistent with his relations to us, it would only remain for us to call the attention of Persia to her engagements in reference to Herat, and to insist upon their faithful observance."[192] It was also a probable contingency that the party in power at Cabul, even if aided and countenanced by the British Government, under the shifting phase of Afghan affairs, in its turn pass away, and be succeeded either by Sher Ali or by some other combination of Sirdars.[193] The Government of India thought any such change need in no degree affect the British line of policy.[194] "Our relations should always be with *de facto* ruler of the day, and so long as the *de facto* ruler is not unfriendly to us, we should always be prepared to renew with him the same terms and favourable conditions as obtained under his predecessor. In this way we shall be enabled to maintain our influence in Afghanistan far more effectually than by any advance of our troops—a contingency which could only be contemplated in the last resort, which would unite as one man the Afghan tribes against us, and which would paralyze our finances."[195] The fears of an alliance of Sher Ali with the Shah of Persia turned out to be groundless. The Shah of Persia assured Her Majesty's representative at Teheran that whatever representations might be made to him by Yakoob Ali, on the part of Sher Ali, the greatest care would be taken that nothing was done by the Persian Government to transgress or encroach upon the stipulations of the Treaty regarding Afghanistan.[196]

Sher Ali's final victory

In the meantime in September 1867 the rival forces were making feverish preparations for a decisive battle. Fyz Muhammud advanced to the boundaries of "Ooshtur Kurram" in the Kohistan.[197] Sher Ali advanced to a place about 6 *cos* distant from the Cabul troops at 'Punjshere.'[198] Luck again did not favour Sher Ali. Before Sher Ali could effect a junction with Fyz, Abdur Rehman fell upon the forces of Fyz at Killa Alladad on 18th September 1867.[199] 'Fyz was killed by a gunshot wound.[200] His death shattered the plans of Sher Ali, a great portion of whose army went over to Abdur Rehman.[201] Abdur Rehman's decisive victory of Killa Alladad on 18th September 1867

192 Foreign-Secret Despatch to Lord Northcote: No. 3: 3 Sep. 1867
193 *Ibid.*
194 *Ibid.*
195 *Ibid.*
196 *Ibid.*
197 Diary 13 to 19 Sep. 1867: Pol. A. Progs: Oct. 1867: No. 32
198 *Ibid.*
199 Abdur Rehman to Afzal 19 Sep. 1867: Pol. A. Progs: Oct. 1867: No. 93
200 *Ibid.*
201 Diary 20 to 23 Sep. 1867: Pol. A. Progs: Oct. 1867 No. 93

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strengthened the power of Azim and Abdur Rehman considerably. But soon events happened which undermined their power and made it possible for Sher Ali to regain the throne of Cabul. Afzal died on 7th October 1867[202] and Azim was acknowledged as Ruler of Cabul in open Durbar by the chiefs and Abdur Rehman.[203] The relations between Azim and Abdur Rehman were already very strained[204] and this event must have widened the breach. For sometime however Abdur Rehman displayed considerable zeal in advancing on Turkistan and thus compelling Sher Ali to evacuate that province in January 1868.[205] Sher Ali fled to Herat.[206] Abdur Rehman crushed the opposition of the Uzbegs at Akchah on 14th February 1868, thus securing his hold on Turkistan.[207] Sher Ali did not give up the struggle. With great determination and fortitude Sher Ali made defeat and disaster "the stepping stones to victory and prosperity."[208] Sher Ali was ably assisted by his son Yakoob Khan, Governor of Herat. Yakoob conducted the campaign of 1868 in a brilliant manner. He defeated the Candahar forces under Muhammud Sarwur, son of Azim and Governor of Candahar.[209] The capture of Candahar proved to be a turn in the tide of the fortunes of Sher Ali. Abdur Rehman had to face a serious and critical position in Turkistan. In order to drive Sher Ali from his last stronghold Herat, Abdur Rehman laid siege to the fort of Maimuna,[210] which he captured after a prolonged siege on 4th June 1868.[211] Abdur Rehman's losses during the siege had been so great that he was compelled to retire to Tukhtapool, abandoning all idea of advancing on Herat.[212] His retreat was the signal for Sher Ali to leave Herat and to join his victorious army at Candahar.[213] Azim advanced with a large army to Ghaznee on 2nd August 1868 while Sher Ali with the whole of his army was

202 Telegram from Punjab Government to Government of India 11 Oct. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1867; No. 168.

203 Telegram from Punjab Government to Government of India 19 Oct. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Oct. 1867; No. 169.

204 Diary 22 to 28 Feb. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; March 1867; No. 82.

205 Diary 20 to 30 Jan. 1868; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1868; No. 325.

206 *Ibid.*

207 Diary 3 to 12 March 1868; Pol. A. Progs; Apl. 1868; No. 20.

208 Boulger, *Central Asian Portraits*, p. 80.

209 Political Superintendent, Upper Sindh to Government of India, 11 Apl. 1868; Pol. A. Progs; Apl. 1868; No. 311.

210 Diary 4 to 7 May 1868; Pol. A. Progs; July 1868; No. 190; and Diary 11 to 18 May 1868; Pol. A. Progs; June 1868; No. 29.

211 Diary 4 to 8 June 1868; Pol. A. Progs; July 1868; No. 191.

212 *Ibid.*

213 Political Superintendent, Upper Sindh to Government of India 10 July 1868 Pol. A. Progs; July 1868; No. 193.

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encamped at Jun Canal in Karabagh.[214] Sher Ali slipped past and took the road to Cabul via. Zoormut.[215] Azim followed him but his troops began to desert him.[216] When Sirdar Muhammud Ismail Khan assaulted and captured Bala Hissar on behalf of Sher Ali,[217] Azim fled to Turkistan.[218] Thus by September 1868 Sher Ali had recovered his kingdom.

As soon as Sir John Lawrence learnt of Sher Ali's final victory he telegraphed to the Secretary of State for India on 10th September 1868 "Sher Ali has recovered Cabul. No doubt he will be in great distress for money and arms. Now would be the time to help him with effect, if it be done at all. On his application we would send him six lakhs of rupees and say 3,000 common muskets."[219] When in December 1868 Sher Ali sent a formal application for money and arms[220] the Government of India telegraphed to the Punjab Government to give him six lakhs of rupees and 3,000 stand of arms with due accoutrements and ammunition.[221] Lord Lawrence was willing to arrange a meeting with Sher Ali.[222] Sher Ali was preparing for the journey for an interview with the Viceroy but due to the warlike proceedings of Azim and Abdur Rehman in Turkistan the meeting was postponed.[223] Lord Lawrence wrote to Sher Ali that he was satisfied that the Ameer desired the friendship of the British Goverment.[224] Lord Lawrence assured Sher Ali—"For the sum of rupees six lakhs already sanctioned the British Government looks for no other return than abi-

214 Diary 4 to 5 Aug. 1868; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1868; No. 2.

215 Diary 8 to 10 Aug. 1868; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1868; No. 4 216 *Ibid.*

217 Telegram from Lt.-Governor, Punjab, to Government of India 30 Aug. 1868; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1868; No. 7.

218 Telegram from Peshawar Commissioner to Punjab Government 8 Sep 1868; Pol. A. Progs; Sep. 1868; No. 190.

219 Telegram from Lawrence to Secretary of State 10 Sep. 1868; Pol. A. Progs. Sep. 1868; No. 190.

220 Telegram from Punjab Government to Government of India 30 Dec. 1868, Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1869; No. 468.

221 Telegram from Government of India to Punjab Government 21 Dec. 1868; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1868; No. 467; and telegram from Government of India to Punjab Government, 7 Jan. 1869; Pol. A. Progs; Jan. 1869; No. 472.

222 Despatch to Argyll 4 Jan. 1869 Afghanistan Blue Book No. I (Correspondence respecting the relations between the British Government and that of Afghanistan since the accession of Sher Ali) London 1875 pp. 43-45 Para 11.

223 Khureeta from Sher Ali to Lt.-Governor of the Punjab p. 83 Parliamentary Papers *op. cit.*

224 Khureeta from Lawrence to Sher Ali 9 Jan. 1869 pp. 83 84 Parliamentary Papers *op. cit.*

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ding confidence, sincerity and goodwill."[225] Sir John Lawrence also informed Sher Ali that in the course of the next three months, rupees six lakhs more would be placed at his disposal.[226]

By the first week of January 1869 Sher Ali succeeded in completely defeating the forces of Azim and Abdur Rehman; his authority was unchallanged in Afghanistan.[227] Thus the stage was set for the historic meeting which took place between Sher Ali and Lord Mayo at Ambala in March 1869.

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225 Khureeta from Lawrence to Sher Ali 9 Jan. 1869 pp. 83-84 Parliamentary Papers *op. cit*

226 *Ibid.*

227 Telegram from Peshawar Commissioner to Government of India 9 Jan. 1869. Pol. A. Progs; Jan 1869; No. 303.

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Indian Philosophy and Hedonism

Most of the Indian doctrines agree in defining the term 'value' as 'the object of desire' (*iṣṭa*);[1] but, as regards what that object is, there is a considerable divergence of opinion. Thus Uddyotakara says that while some think that *dharma, artha, kāma* or *mokṣa* is the object desired, he himself considers it to be the attainment of pleasure (*sukha-prapti*) or the avoidance of pain (*duḥkha-nivṛtti*).[2] That is, pleasure or the absence of pain is the *sole* value according to him while, according to others, it may be that or something else like wealth (*artha*) or virtue (*dharma*). We have evidence to show that there were still others[3] in ancient India, who denied that pleasure could be a value at all. But it should be stated that the opinion which has come to prevail is the one which Uddyotakara upholds,[4] viz. that what is desired is always pleasure or freedom from pain.[5] By implication, pain or the loss of pleasure is 'disvalue' (*dviṣṭa*). The Indian conception of value, as now prevalent, may accordingly appear to be fundamentally hedonistic, and the purpose of the present article is to find out whether it is really so.

There are two standpoints from which the question of hedonism may be considered, viz. whether it means that pleasure is, as a matter of fact, sought by man or whether it is also good and worthy to be sought by him. To take up the latter first for consideration :

(a) In the form in which we find it enunciated, the Indian view does not signify that pleasure is worthy of being sought for, as stated there, it is merely *desired* and not *desirable*. But we have not to depend upon the form of this statement alone to reach such a conclusion. There is also direct evidence to support it. So far from teaching that all pleasure is worthy of being sought by man, the pursuit of certain pleasures is here wholly disapproved. In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, for example, *preyas* which stands for common pleasure is sharply distinguished from *śreyas* or supreme bliss which marks the

1 For an account of Prabhākara's doctrine of *Niyoga*, which rejects this definition, see the present writer's article in the *Madras Journal of Oriental Research*, 1945.

2 *Nyāya-vārttika*, p. 13. (Benares Edn.).

3 As e.g. Bharadvāja according to *Mahābhārata*, XII. 188.

4 See e.g. *Siddhānta-muktāvali*, p. 467 (Nirn. Sag. Edn.) and *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*, viii.

5 For the sake of simplicity of treatment, we shall hereafter speak only of pleasure and not of the absence of pain also; but what is said of the one will apply equally to the other.

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goal of life; and the former is discountenanced completely.[6] The definition of 'value' as the object of desire thus becomes a generic one. It applies to all kinds of value, and not merely to that which is good or worthy to be sought. We cannot accordingly say that a thing is good because we desire it, for it may be desired and yet be not good. There are crude urges as well as rational desires; and the satisfaction of the latter alone is good. Two kinds of pleasure[7] thus come to be recognised, of which one alone deserves to be desired. Such a view may appear to make a qualitative distinction in pleasure; but it does not, for what serves to distinguish higher from lower pleasure, as understood here, is whether or not its pursuit is prompted by right philosophic knowledge (*vidyā*). 'Widely distinct and leading to different ends are these—ignorance and knowledge. I see thou seekest knowledge, O Naciketas, for worldly pleasures have not lured thee away.'[8] The criterion of preferablity in regard to pleasure is thus something other than its pleasantness, viz. whether the desire for it springs from right knowledge or, to put it somewhat differently, whether it is such as to help us forward in the attainment of the final goal of life. In itself, pleasure is qualitatively the same.[9]

The above view is based upon metaphysics, for the worthof pleasure is judged in it by reference to the knowledge of ultimate reality or to the supreme bliss to which it is believed to lead. There is another view that involves no such metaphysical presupposition. It is best illustrated by a stanza which is well known to students of Sanskrit literary criticism.[10] It says: 'Here is a person who thinks that he likes his beloved, because she does just what pleases him'; but he does not know, it adds, that there is a higher form of love in which '*what-ever* the beloved does is, by that very fact, felt as pleasant.' The lover's pleasure is lower in the former case, where the beloved is valued for her care of him than in the latter, where she is valued for her own sake. It means that two attitudes are possible in reference to

6 I. ii. 1-3, 13; v. 12-13.

7 The distinction between these two may be indicated by using for them different terms, like 'pleasure' and 'bliss' or happiness'; but we have generally preferred the use of 'pleasure' for both, in the belief that the context will show which is meant.

8 *Id.* I. ii. 4.

9 That there can be no qualitative distinction in pleasure was known to Indians as early as the age of the Upaniṣads. See *Tait. Up.* II. viii and *Bṛ. Up.* IV. iii. 32.

10 यदेव रोचते मह्यं तदेव कुरुते प्रिया।
इति वेत्ति न जानाति तत् प्रियं यत् करोति सा॥
Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (v. 74).

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an object: One is to regard it essentially in its relation to oneself; and the other, to shift one's interest entirely from oneself to the object in question so that the sense of one's individuality almost vanishes then. In the first, the object is valued but as a means, and the pleasure is lower; in the second, it is valued for itself, and the pleasure is higher. Here the criterion of judging the worth of pleasure is the nature of one's attitude towards the object in question, and is not directly based upon any metaphysical consideration.[11]

(b) Thus we see that, whichever of the above views we take, the Indian conception of value does not mean that pleasure is always good and is worthy to be sought. The question we have now to consider is whether it is hedonistic in the other sense, viz. whether, as a matter of psychological fact, it is always sought by men. To judge from the manner in which it is defined, the conception may appear to be hedonistic in this sense, but really it is not so.[12] The reason for it, however, differs according to a difference in the systems of thought, and needs therefore to be set forth separately:

(I) According to some, pleasure is the only end desired by man, but what they actually mean by it is the supreme bliss of the ideal life (*mokṣa*),[13] and not the pleasures which he commonly seeks. That is why the latter, they say, invariably fail to satisfy him permanently. They only arrest desire for the time being, but do not fulfil it. If man yet seeks them, it is due to the extreme vagueness of his conception of the ideal or to his ignorance of the means to its attainment.[14] The pleasure that ordinarily serves as the aim is thus only an *apparent* good.[15] According to this view, there is no difference in the ultimate

11 The same is also the significance of Bhavabhūti's well-known stanza:

न किञ्चिदपि कूर्वाणाः सौख्यैः दुःखान्यपोहति ।
तत् तस्य किमपि द्रव्यं यो हि यस्य प्रियो जनः ॥

Uttara-rāma-carita, (ii. 19; vi. 5)

'A person, whom we genuinely love, pleases us by his very presence, irrespective of anything he may or may not do.' Cf. Bhāravi's *Kirātārjuniyam*, xi. 27-8.

12 We are not considering here the Cārvāka doctrine which is avowedly egoistic and hedonistic.

13 Cf. *Saṁkṣepa-śāriraka*, i. 66-9.

14 Where it is not either of them, as in the case of a philosopher, it is the force of former habits (*saṁskāra*) that accounts for such seeking. Cf., *Paśvādibhiśca aviśeṣāt*, occurring in Śaṁkara's preamble to his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra*.

15 The apparent good is not the same as 'disvalue' for the latter, being of the nature of pain, never even appears to be good as this does. This apparent

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motive behind the activities of different men, or the several activities of one and the same person. It is always absolute bliss, and all men alike aim at it.[16] What is meant by absolute bliss is that it should be altogether unmixed, and that there should be no lapse from it when it is once attained. Such a view may be a form of eudaemonism, but the question whether it is or is not hedonistic does not arise at all, for no pleasure, as it is commonly known and is meant in hedonism, satisfies these conditions.

(2) The above view admits that every desire is a desire for pleasure, and still maintains that it is not hedonism since the pleasure intended is absolute. There are other doctrines which, without reference to such pleasure,[17] arrive at the same conclusion. They also associate pleasure with all voluntary activity, but they explain its place in the value-situation in two different ways:

(i) To begin with, pleasure is a value in the sense that it may be aimed at directly. Let us think, for example, of a person who, eagerly seeking some delicious food or drink, finds it and then partakes of it. Here the end reached, viz. satisfaction or pleasure, is the immediate purpose of the person's activity, and is therefore a value in the above sense of the term. It may seem that pleasure is here illegitimately separated from the thing which yields it, and that the resulting abstraction is represented as a value. This point is discussed in Indian works;[18] and the chief reason given for the separation is as follows: While pleasure as such is an object of universal desire the things in connection with which it arises are never so. A thing, which satisfies one, may repel others. It may not satisfy even the same person at all times as, for example, food which gives satisfaction if one is hungry, but not otherwise. On account of this uncertainty, it is said, objects cannot be reckoned, alongside of pleasure, as values in themselves. To do so would be to adopt a relativistic view of values. But it should not therefore be conclued that pleasure is here sundered from its objective reference altogether. The need for an objective correlate is admitted, wherever the realisation of value is concerned; what is denied is merely the association of *particular* things with it. That such is the case is clear, for instance, from the view held in these schools, viz. that, though pleasure may

value, it may be observed in passing, contains within itself the seeds of new advance, its inadequacy serving as an incentive to further and further progress.

16 Cf. *Maitreyi Brāhmaṇa* (*Br. Up.* II. iv. and IV. v).

17 It does not mean that these doctrines do not recognise *mokṣa* as the final ideal. The twofold distinction made here is within empirical values.

18 See e.g. Śabara's com. on Jaimini VI. i. 1-3,

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be directly aimed at, one cannot set about realising it until a suitable means to it is determined upon.[19]

(ii) But the place of pleasure in the value-situation is not always of the above type. In a section[20] of his Sūtra, Jaimini discusses the question as to who reaps the fruit when a sacrifice, like the *vaiśvānareṣṭi* commended in the Veda, is performed. This sacrifice is meant to secure the well-being of a male child, and is performed by the father soon after it is born. The agent here is the father, but he is not the recipient of the benefit (*phala*) accruing therefrom. The forms of the verb used in the context in the Veda, however, imply, according to Sanskrit usage, that it is he who should reap the fruit. Here is an apparent contradiction in the teaching of the Veda; and, in explaining it, Śabara, the commentator, states that in such activities the agent feels pleased at the thought that his son will be well off, and that pleasure (*prīti*) is *his* reward.[21] But it is not the willed aim of the activity as in the previous case, and is not therefore the value sought.[22] The activity aims, on the other hand, directly at an objective end, viz. the child's welfare, which accordingly constitutes the value here. The father's pleasure is merely what ensues upon the attainment of that end, and is due to the consciousness that he has achieved what he set out to do. It is consequently a sign of value rather than a value itself.

We have taken a ritualistic example in order to indicate the authority for our statement that the place of pleasure in the value situation, according to the present view, is not always the same. The principle of explanation underlying it, however, is quite general and applies equally to cases outside the sphere of ritual. We may take the instance of a mother devoting herself to the care of her child, which is exactly parallel to the above. Here also the value sought is for the child but the mother will have her own satisfaction, if the child's well-being is ensured. To judge from the discussion on the *sūtras* of Jaimini, referred to above, this objective end may be almost anything, including pleasure.[23] It may, for instance, be wealth when

19 फलस्य साक्षात् कृतिसाध्यत्वाभावात्— *Vākyārthamātṛkā* of Ahobala Suri (Mysore Oriental Library Edn.), p. 60. Cf. in this connection the well-known statement that it is *iṣṭasādhanatā-jñāna*, and not *phala-jñāna*, that is *pravartaka*.

20 IV. iii. 38-9.

21 यत् पुत्रस्य फलमात्मनः सा प्रीतिः ।

22 Cf. Kumārila's *Ṭup-ṭīkā* (p. 114): न च अकाम्यमानं फलं भवति ।

23 It will be remembered that the point under consideration now is value in general, and not the higher only among the values. The latter will necessarily be fewer in number.

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it is acquired (say) for the sake of doing good to others. Here again the end sought is not one's own pleasure, though the act may bring satisfaction to oneself as its sequel.

Since pleasure is not thus the *sole* end sought and there may also be others, this view too is not hedonistic in the common acceptation of that term.[24] How then are we to explain the statement found in the generality of Indian works that pleasure is the aim of all voluntary activity? The answer is that the statement does not apply to all values, but only to that which one seeks *for oneself*. Here naturally will arise the question, whether pleasure, though it may be one of the values sought, is the *only* value which one seeks for oneself. We cannot settle this point without discussing the precise significance of the term 'pleasure' (*sukha*) as used here. But it is not necessary to enter upon that discussion for the purpose of the present article, which is merely to find out whether the Indian conception of values is or is not hedonistic on the whole.

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24 Cf. *Bhāṭṭa-dipikā* (VI. i. 1-3) where it is shown that, for an injunction to operate, the agent (*kartṛ*) need not be the enjoyer (*bhoktṛ*). Cf. also *Siddhānta muktāvali* (p. 483): शास्त्रदर्शितं फलमनुष्ठानकर्तरि इत्युत्सर्गः ।

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State and Citizen in Ancient India

The question of the relationship between the state and the citizen is undoubtedly an important topic. It was discussed in ancient times only by very few western political thinkers like Aristotle. Since the rise of democracy during the last two centuries, modern writers however have begun to devote considerable space to the discussion of the mutual rights and responsibilities of the state and the citizen in the different spheres of the individual and communal life, enquiring whether there is any real conflict between the interests of the two, and if so, how it can be resolved.

Ancient Indian political thinkers have hardly devoted any space to the discussion of these problems, and no wonder. While discussing the relations between the state and the citizen the political science seeks mainly to define the mutual rights of the two parties. Hindu constitutional writers have approached the problem from quite a different point of view. They usually describe not the rights of the citizens, but the duties of the state; the former are to be inferred from the latter. Similarly they discuss the duties of the citizens, from which we are to infer indirectly the extent of the control the state could exercise over its subjects. In our ancient works, therefore, there is no systematic discussion of the problem from the point of view of the rights of either party.

European writers, whether of the ancient or the modern times, further look at the question from a purely secular and constitutional point of view. They separate the civic and political life of the citizen from his religious and moral life, and define his rights as against the state, which is often assumed to be hostile to him. Ancient Hindu writers, on the other hand, considered the political duties of the citizen as part of his general duties (*dharma*) and assumed that normally there should be no conflict between the state and the citizen, necessitating a clear-cut definition of the rights and obligations of both. The very aim of the state was to promote the all-sided progress of the citizens both in this life and the life to come. If there is no state, there would prevail the law of the jungle. State is thus indispensable for the progress and happiness of the individual and its main aim is to promote them. What is to be done if the state does not discharge its duties properly or the individuals do not carry out their obligations faithfully has received but a scant attention from our ancient thinkers. It was assumed that each party would normally abide by its own *dharma* or duty.

The states in the west, whether in modern or in the ancient times,

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have not looked upon all the inhabitants of the kingdom with the same eye. Those who had the right and privilege of actively participating in the government of the state and in making its laws and regulations were called citizens. They were sharply distinguished from the large body of inhabitants who were in a servile or semi-servile condition, hardly possessing any civic or political rights. Aliens formed another class, the members of which did no doubt not suffer from any disabilities, but nevertheless did not enjoy the privilege of participating in the constitutional life of the country.

The constitutional writers of ancient India have not made such differentiation among the residents of the country. We are quite in the dark about the details of the political life in the Vedic period. At that time, as is well-known, popular assemblies (*samitis*) existed and controlled the king's activity and powers to a great extent. It is quite possible that not all the inhabitants had the right to become the members of the *samiti*, only a small section of the population may have had this right and it may have constituted a privileged class corresponding to the aristocratic order in the modern times or to that of the privileged class in ancient Greece. In the republican states, there seems to have existed a privileged aristocracy which appears to have been the custodian of the political rights. But as we have very little evidence to guide us, we can hardly say anything about the rights of this privileged class and its relation to the state on one side and the ordinary inhabitants on the other.

When the curtain rises to reveal to us the historic period from c. 500 B.C., we find the *samitis* or the central assemblies disappearing from the scene. Our constitutional thinkers, therefore, do not divide the inhabitants into two classes, citizens who possessed political privileges and others who did not enjoy them. The village councils, town committees and district boroughs, however, developed in a remarkable manner during this period, and people had a predominant voice in their management. It was, however, the status, experience and seniority which raised individuals to the executive committee of these bodies, and not a popular election in the modern sense of the term. In south India we definitely know that the members of the village pañcāyats were selected by lot from among people possessing high moral, and literary and property qualifications. The villagers, however, had a general assembly which is described as *Pūga* in the Smṛti literature. It consisted of all the village elders, variously described as *mahattaras, mahājanas* or *perumāls* in the different parts of the country. This was a truly democratic body because the evidence of *Smṛtis* and Maratha records show that all castes and professions were represented in it, including even the untouchables. As there was no distinction between

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privileged and non-privileged classes in the sphere of the local government, it is not referred to by our constitutional writers.

Distinction between citizens and aliens, which was almost universal in the past and is very prominent in modern times, has not been made by Hindu writers. This need not surprise us. There was a pervading cultural unity among the different states in the sub-continent of India, and, therefore, a Gauḍa (Bengali) did not appear as an alien to a Lāṭa (Gujarati) or a Kashmirian to a Karṇāṭakī. Provincial differences were no doubt developing but they had not yet become strong enough to induce the independent states in the different parts of the country to impose the restrictions and disabilities of aliens on the inhabitants of adjacent states. Brāhmaṇas from Mahārāṣṭra received land grants from the rulers of Gujarat, poets from Kashmir became court-poets in the kingdom of Karṇāṭak, and soldiers from the Deccan often enlisted in the armies of the rulers of northern India. All this became possible owing to the realisation of the cultural unity of the country, inspite of its division into separate sovereign states.

It is, however, interesting to note that no disabilities seem to have been imposed even upon foreigners as aliens. A Greek was serving as the viceroy of an important frontier province under Aśoka; a Parthian was serving as a governor under the Śaka king, Rudradāman I (c. 135 A.D.) and a Hūṇa officer was serving in an important post in the administration of king Yaśovarman (c. 725 A.D.). Muslims were permitted to settle down in western India by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and allowed to have their own officers to administer their personal law.

The non-recognition of the aliens as a separate class was due partly to the catholic spirit of Hinduism and partly to its confidence of completely absorbing the foreigners in its body politic by means of its superior culture. The Greeks, the Scythians, the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas were all absorbed into Hinduism, though they first came into the country as conquerors. Hindu constitutional writers, therefore, did not think it necessary to differentiate between citizens and aliens.

The right to make the laws, or to elect representatives who will make them, is regarded as an important privilege of the citizen. This notion, however, was not possible in ancient India, because laws, if religious, were regarded as revealed, and if secular, were believed to be determined by customs and traditions. Legislature of the modern type to enact laws in the modern sense of the term did not exist.

In modern times it is regarded as very essential that the state should afford equal opportunities to all its citizens. Very often however, these opportunities are equal only in theory and not in practice. It is, however, contended that in ancient India the state failed to discharge this primary duty, because the different castes had no othe-

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alternative but to follow their predetermined professions. There were, therefore, no equal opportunities for all.

This objection is, however, only partially true. The duties of the castes and the professions, which they had to follow, were determined not by the state but by social customs and traditions. When these were permitting full freedom in the choice of professions,—as was the case down to *c.* 100 B.C. the state was not pinning down the different castes to certain,—predetermined professions. Even Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas could become teachers of the Vedas. Later on, however, professions became hereditary and the Smṛtis began to prescribe that the members of the different castes should normally restrict themselves to their ancestral professsions. Smṛti rules in this respect were based upon actual practice, and if there was an absence of equal opportunities to all, the blame lies not on the state, but on the society. It is possible to argue that the state should have carried on an active propaganda against these restrictions, but that was hardly possible in an age which believed that they were based upon divine or semi-divine sanction. Epigraphical evidence, however, shows that in spite of the Smṛti rules, there were many cases in actual practice, where individuals did not follow their hereditary professions; it is to the credit of the state that it did not use its powers to stop such practices and render individual choice altogether impossible. It appears that it was only in the case of the priestly profession that the prohibition was real and effective. No non-Brāhmaṇa seems to have been permitted to officiate as a priest or to teach the Vedas in the post-Upaniṣadic times; it is not unlikely that the state may have, on rare occasions, punished the delinquents in this connetion. But it should not be forgotten that the privilege to become a priest or a Vedic teacher was really a privilege to beg; the priest's profession no doubt enjoyed a high status but brought a very low and insufficient income. Society further believed that the rule which confined this profession to the Brāhmaṇa caste was divine and its infringement would lead to eternal hell. If the state, therefore, became a party to the enforcement of the rule, which made priestly duty a monopoly for the Brāhmaṇas, it took a step which was acquiesced in by almost all the non-Brāhmaṇas themselves.

Equality of all citizens before the law is one of the fundamental features of a good state according to the modern notions. It has to be admitted that it did not exist in ancient India. Lighter punishments were recommended to the Brāhmaṇas in comparison to the other castes for the same offence. Smṛtis no doubt say that the sin of a guilty Bāhmaṇa is greater than that of a Śūdra, and so his spiritual punishment in the other world would be heavier. Our respect for them, however, would have become greater, if they had laid down a heavier

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punishment for the guilty Brāhmaṇa also in this life, proportionate to his higher sin. In fairness, however, it has to be admitted that this is too much to expect. Everywhere in the world till quite modern times, status determined the punishment of the culprit, if not in theory at least in practice. Only a nominal punishment was imposed on the citizens in ancient Greece and Rome for the murder of a slave. In the Anglo-Saxon times the *wergeld* for the murder of a serf was very small, as compared to that prescribed for the murder of a freeman or a knight. The legal inequalities in France down to the end of the 18th century were very glaring. It is, therefore, rather unreasonable to expect that equality of all before the law should have existed in ancient India in the full measure. Smṛtis have further exaggerated the picture to a great extent; we know for instance, that Brāhmaṇas were not in actual practice, exempt from the capital punishment, as Smṛti-writers would like us to believe. The *Arthaśāstra*, for instance, shows that they were executed by drowning if found guilty of treason.

The state ensures protection for the person and property of the citizens and seeks to promote their all-round progress. It therefore, naturally expects the citizens to co-operate with it whole-heartedly by obeying its orders and laws. Ancient Indian thinkers have naturally emphasised this duty. The state in modern times further expects its citizens to fight for it and even to die for it, if necessary. In ancient India state entertained no such expectations with referene to all its citizens in historic times owing to the emergence of the caste system. It was the duty of the Kṣatriya to fight and protect; it was an indelible stigma for him to run from the battle field to save his life. Other castes were to help the state not by fighting on the battlefield, but by providing the sinews of war by the fruits of their labour, trade and industry. The age did not believe in conscription but in the division of labour.

Village communities, however, inspired intense local patriotism, and scores of cases are on record of people of all classes and castes dying in the defence of the village or its cattle. Numerous *vīrgals* or hero-stones that are particularly common in the Deccan and south India, show that when the safety of the village was threatened, people from all castes came forward to fight and die for the community; we sometimes find even women fighting and dying on such occasions.[1]

The normal type of government, envisaged by our constitutional writers, was monarchy. They, therefore, usually emphasise upon the duty of the soldier or the citizen to die for his king, rather than for his country. The same was the case in the west till the emergence of the national state in the modern period.

1 *E.I.*, VI. 163; *S.I.E.R.*, 1921, No. 73; *E.C.*, I. No. 75.

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What may be described as patriotism for the state in the abstract did not much develop in ancient India for obvious reasons. The large number of states into which the country was divided did not usually differ from each other in religion, culture and language. For instance, the kingdom of Kāśī (Benares) could hardly be differentiated from that of Kośala (Oudh), or the kingdom of Aṅga (Bhagalpur) from that of Vaṅga (Bengal). There were hardly any natural boundaries dividing the Gahadwal, the Candella and the Cāhamāna kingdoms of the 12th century. The absence of natural boundaries and the presence of a common homogenous culture did not foster any feeling of intense local or state patriotism. Wars that were taking place were due more to dynastic jealousies and ambitions than to narrow local patriotism. The conqueror moreover was expected to enthrone a relation of the defeated king and respect the local laws and customs. People in general, therefore, apart from the ruling classes and the army, did not take keen interest in the fortunes of wars. From one point of view, it may be argued that they lacked patriotism, but from another point of view, it may be pointed out that they failed to develop only narrow provincialism. Had the people of the dozen states, into which India used to be usually divided, developed intense feeling of territorial patriotism, driving them to fly to the throats of one another with the intense hatred of deep rooted enmity, the cultural unity which pervades the country at present, would have become impossible.

For India or Bhāratavarṣa as a whole Indians did feel a great love and patriotism and whenever its religion, culture and independence were at stake, they came forward to lay down their lives in its defence. Nobody, who studies the opposition offered to Alexander the Great, can deny the existence of true patriotism in the Indians of the age. Brāhmaṇa philosophers were the leaders of the patriotic movement in Lower Sind and were hanged by the score by Alexander, whose task was becoming more and more arduous on account of the patriotic movement, inspired by them.[2] One of them, when taken prisoner and condemned to death, was asked just before his execution as to why he had incited the people and the king to revolt. He boldly replied. 'Because I wished them to live with honour or to die with honour.'[3] Unfortunately we have no authentic account of the opposition offered to the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kuṣāṇas, but such scanty information as we possess shows that the states like those of the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas and the Mālavas continued their resistance movement for decades, till they were eventually able to regain

2 McCrindle, *Ancient India, its invasion by Alexander the Great*, pp. 159-160.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 314.

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ıeir independence. Important states in northern India joined their esources in order to oust the Hūṇas. When it became clear that the Muslim conquest was a serious threat to the culture and religion of the country, most of the important states in northern India made a common cause under the impulse of patriotism and offered a united front near Peshawar in 1008 A.D. 50,000 Hindus laid down their lives in the defence of the Somanātha temple before Mahmud of Ghazni could force his entry into it in 1024 A.D. Those who thus died for their religion and country no doubt believed intensely that Bhāratavarṣa was so holy a land that even gods desire to be reborn in it.[4] A proverb states that the mother and the mother-country are even greater than heaven[5] and the history of opposition to foreign aggression shows that Hindus did believe in it.

Grounds of political obligation

The citizen is bound to the state by a number of political obligations and we shall briefly state the grounds which, according to the ancient Indian thinkers, justified their impostion. State was regarded as the only agency that stood between the citizen and the anarchy; it was, therefore, but meet that he should lend all his support to it and carry out the obligations imposed by its rules and regulations. If power and prestige of the state were not there, says Manu (VII. 20-24) strong will fry the weak like fish on the oven, most people will give up their appointed duties, and even dogs will begin to lick the oblations intended for gods. Even gods discharge their divine functions because they are afraid of the punishment that would otherwise be imposed upon them by the Supreme Creator.

The divinity of the king was also regarded as justifying the political obligations of the citizen. The king is a veritable divinity, says Manu (VII. 8), and should therefore, be obeyed. This theory of king's divinity did not, however, impose an absolute obligation to obey, and citizens were permitted to depose and even to execute a king, if he became guilty of gross misgovernment and misbehaviour.

Laws were also regarded as divine in origin and, therefore, the citizen was expected to obey the state which was an agency for their enforcement. The citizen, however, did not become a slave of antiquated laws, because the custom, if not the state, was permitted to change them in a gradual manner.

4 गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि धन्यास्तु ते भारतभूविभागे ।
स्वर्गापवर्गस्य च भूतिहेतौ भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषा सुरत्वात् । *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*

5 जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी ॥

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It is well-known how some of the thinkers of ancient India have advanced the contract theory for the origin of state. People agreed to obey the king and pay him the taxes because he undertook to protect them. Political obligations would thus arise out of the initial contract, express or implied. It is interesting to note that our constitutionalists have laid down that if the king is unwilling or unable to carry out his part of the contract by protecting the people and ensuring a prosperous government, they should forthwith kill him like a mad dog.[6]

The well-known *saptāṅga* theory of the state gives a further ground for political obligations. Government and citizens are both limbs of the body politic; they can function only in co-operation with each other and will both perish if there is a conflict between the two. The state seeks to bring about the moral and material progress and prosperity of the citizens by its measures and efforts; it can succeed in its mission only if the latter offer it hearty co-operation by discharging their obligations to the state. Enlightened self-interest, therefore, demands that the state should be zealous in promoting the progress of its citizens in moral, economic and aesthetic spheres, and that the latter should make the state's onerous task easy by their hearty co-operation in discharging all their political obligations.

A. S. ALTEKAR

6 अहं वो रक्षितेत्युक्त्वा यो न रक्षति भूमिपः ।
स संहत्य निहन्तव्यः श्वेव सोन्माद आतुरः ॥ *Mbh.*, XXII. 96. 35.

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Origin of the name 'Bengal'

How Bengal received its name as such is a question which in contrast with the degree of interest it does possess has called forth only a very few attempts at solution. In Bengali the term employed in modern times to denote the province is *Bāṅglā*, of which the English rendering is *Bengal*, denoting the Presidency round Fort William. Both words are of recent origin, neither having any claim to hardly a higher age than the 18th century A.D. The idea that palpably works in the popular mind is that the term *Bāṅglā* or *Bāṅgālā* is derived from *Vaṅga* which so frequently occurs in early and mediæval Indian epigraphs and literature, and the English have adapted it into their own language as *Bengal*. A statement made towards the close of the 16th century by Abul Fazl in his *Aīn-i-Akbari* is translated by Jarret as follows: "The original name of Bengal was *Bang*. Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called *al*. From this suffix, the name Bengal took its rise and currency."[1] *Bengal* in the above translation is a misnomer; Gladwin in his translation of the same work maintains a semblance of truth by representing it as *Bungalah*[2], since the original has *Vaṅgāla*[3]. Erroneous as the notion that *Bāṅglā* or its English equivalent *Bengal* is derived from *Vaṅga* or *Bang* is, no less pretentious is the theory postulated some 33 years ago by as great and reputed a scholar as the late Professor Rakhal Das Banerji, who writing in a Bengali monthly said: "After the Muhammadan conquest the use of the word Vaṅga is found at one or two places, and even then the Western Bengal was denoted by Gauḍa, Lakṣmaṇāvatī or Lakhnauti, and the marshy Eastern Bengal by Bang or *diyār i Bang*. But shortly after Minhaj (-us Sirāj, the author of the *Tabaqāt Nāṣirī*, 1259 A.D.) Gauḍa and Vaṅga were designated as Baṅgālā instead of these names. Whence (the terms) Baṅgāla and Baṅgālā came to be introduced into the Gauḍiya language is difficult to say, but the supposition is that the word Baṅgālā came from the country where from the Sena kings hailed, the country from which the name *Vallāla* came. The Muhammadans and the Persian-knowing Hindus even used to write it as Baṅgālā, but the English-knowing people in imitation of the mistake of the English write it as Bāṅgālā instead of as Baṅgālā".[4] Our knowledge of the

1 *Aīn-i Akbari*, tr. by H. S. Jarrett, II, p. 120.
2 *Ayeen Akbery*, tr. by Francis Gladwin, II, p. 300.
3 *I.H.Q.*, XVI, 1940, p. 227, n. 22.
4 *Mānasī*, 1320 B.S., *Aśvina*, p. 771.

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past of Bengal has since traversed a long way off this stage, and it would now be idle to indulge in controverting the fallacies that be in the statement point by point.

Much of the problem connected with the question disappears when we recall that there was in old Bengal a tract called Vaṅgāla. The Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra, assigned to the first half of the twelfth century, records the death of a Buddhist ascetic, Karuṇāśrīmitra, when his house at Somapura (modern Pāhārpur in the Rajshahi district of North Bengal) "was burning (*being*) set on fire by the approaching armies of Vaṅgāla"[5]. An earlier reference to the name of Vaṅgāla occurs in the Tirumalai Rock inscription of Rājendra Coḷa I. The description of Vaṅgāla-*deśa* in it is that 'where the rain-wind never stopped' and from which its king Govindacandra (being attacked by the generals of the Coḷa monarch, *circa* 1025 A.D.) 'fled having descended (from his) male elephants'[6]. This reference alone is apt to render ineffective the conjecture that the name Vaṅgāla came with the Sena kings. Still earlier is the reference to Vaṅgāla in the Goharwa inscription of Karṇadeva, the Cedi prince, whose great-great-grandfather, Lakṣmaṇarājadeva, flourishing in the first half of the ninth century, is said to have defeated the king of Vaṅgāla among others (*Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga nipuṇaḥ*)[7]. The name Vaṅgāla must have, therefore, been as old as at least the eighth century A.D.

Perhaps more important for our purpose is to muster together all the few available passages from literature and inscriptions that make mention of both Vaṅgāla and Vaṅga alongside, so as to bring forth that Vaṅgāla as a land is quite distinct from what is Vaṅga. In the *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī* of Shams-i Sirāj' Āfif, the third *Mukaddama* relates the capture of fifty elephants and slaughter of one lac of the people of Bang (Vaṅga) and Baṅgāla (Vaṅgāla) by Fīroz Shāh in his battle with Shamsu-d-dīn.[8] Similarly, the *Ḍākārṇava*, a Tantric Buddhist work of 12th century or after, contains in the fifth chapter the names of the Devīs called after different districts or places of India, which include the names of both Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla.[9] Again in the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* of Nayacānd Suri we have that the kings of Aṅga, Tilanga (Telang), Magadha, Masūra (Mysore), Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Bhaṭa (Bhoṭ?), Medapāṭa, Pañcāla, Vaṅgāla, Thamima, Bhilla, Nepāla, Ḍāhala and

5 *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 98, 99-100, v. 2.
6 *Ibid.*, IX, p. 233; *SII*, II, Nos. 67 and 68, pp. 98, 100.
7 *Ibid.*, XI, p. 112, v. 8.
8 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, p. 195.
9 *Bauddha Gān-o-Dohā*, ed. H. P. Śāstrī, p. 251; *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 1917, p. 251.

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some Himalayan chiefs brought in obedience to the summons (of 'Alāu-d-dīn) their respective quotas to swell his invading army against Hammīra :

अङ्गस्तिलङ्गो मगधो मसूरः कलिङ्ग-वङ्गौ भट-मेदपाटौ ।

पञ्चाल वङ्गाल थमीम भिल्ल नेपाल डाहल हिमाद्रिमध्याः ॥[10]

Still again in the third *āśvāsa* (chapter) of the *Yaśatilaka*, written in 959 A. D. by the Jaina Somadeva under the Cālukya prince, Arikeśarin, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, "while telling, in the story of Yaśodhara, about the vital importance to a king of the choice of ministers he makes, it is stated by way of illustration that, due "to the employment of unworthy persons, Karāla, king of Kerala, Maṅgala, king of Baṅgāla, Kāma, king of Kauśika, and Spliṅga, king of Vaṅga, could trace their ruin."[11] And apart from all these literary evidences there is also preserved to us at least one epigraphical testimony to demonstrate the difference of Vaṅgāla from Vaṅga; an inscription at Ablur says with reference to Vijjaṇarāya of the Kalacuri family that "having put down the Coḷa, having humbled Lāḷa, having deprived Nepāla of stability, having crushed Andhra to pieces, having made the Gurjara captive, having broken the greatness of the king of Cedi, having ground Vaṅga in a mill, and having fought the kings of Baṅgāla, Kaliṅga, Magadha, Paṭasvara and Mālava, the brave king Vijjaṇarāya has protected the whole circuit of the earth."[12]

The earliest reference to the Vaṅgas occurs in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (II.1.1.), and we need not doubt that the allusion is to a tribe of Bengal. In the *Mahābhārata*, as it is in the description of Bhīma's conquests in Eastern India, Vaṅga lay beyond Aṅga, to the south-east, and as such "must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadiya, Jessore and parts of Rajshahi, Pabna and Faridpur."[13]This tract, with further extension, to the south, the Vaṅgas seemingly continued to hold up till the days of Kālidāsa, as it appears from IV. 36 of his *Raghuvaṁśa*: "Having rooted out the Vaṅgas with great force who were haughty on account of their fleet of ships, he (Raghu) erected triumphal columns in the intervals between the streams of the Gaṅgā." In the Jaina *Bhagavatī*, fourth *upāṅga Pannavaṇā*, the nine groups of Āriyas included 'Tāmaliti Vaṅgāya', and if we take the expression in the

10 Ed Nilakaṇṭha Janārdan Kīrtane, Bombay, 1895, p. 95, Canto XI, v. 1.

11 *Second Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Circle*, 1883-84, by Peter Peterson, pp.38-39.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 249, 257, first pointed out by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri in the *Mānasī-o-Marmavāṇī* 1336 B. S. *Śrāvaṇa* p. 701.

13 Pargiter, *J.A.S.B.*, 1897, p. 97, and Map, Plate II.

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sense of 'Tāmaliti (Tāmralipti) in Vaṅga' it would point to the south-western boundary of Vaṅga at times in or before the fifth century A.D., when the Jaina *upāṅgas* are believed to have been redacted. From the sixth or seventh century A.D., onwards, however, the land of Vaṅga became conterminous with a part of East Bengal, which is, generally speaking, bounded by the Brahmaputra on the west, by the Ganges on the south, by the Meghnā on the east, while on the north by the Khasia hills.[14] In some mediæval Vaiṣṇava works of Bengal, on the other hand, Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet is said to have been included in Vaṅga,[15] so that in the sixteenth century and thereabouts the north-easterly boundary of Vaṅga extended upto at least Sylhet, which is now incorporated in Assam.

The identification of the land of Vaṅgāla, as distinct an entity from that of Vaṅga, is neither too up-hill nor so embarassing a task. The Vaṅgāla-*deśa*, where according to the evidence of the Tirumalai Rock Inscription of Rājendra Coḷa I, "the rain-wind never stopped," is described in the *Deśāvalī-vivṛti*, a geographical work by Jagannātha Paṇḍita in the seventeenth century, as a tract in the vicinity of forest and sea.[16] In Marco Polo's description, "Bangala is a Province towards the South which upto the year 1290, when the aforesaid Messer Marco Polo was still at the court of the Great Kaan, had not yet been conquered; but his armies had gone thither to make the conquest. You must know that this province has a peculiar language, and the people are wretched idolators. They are tolerably close to India" (a province on the confines of India.)[17] Marco Polo's account of Bangala, indubiously Vaṅgāla, can only be applicable to the south-east Bengal including the Chittagong-cum-Tippera region and not to Pegu, as Yule happened to conjecture.[18] This not only agrees perfectly well with the descriptions of the land as in the Tirumalai Rock Inscription and the *Deśāvalī-vivṛti* but is also substantially corroborated by Ovington, who says, "Arracan is bounded on the north-west by the kingdom of Bengala, some authors making Chatigam to be its First Frontier city."[19] Ovington's account is based on that of Tosi (1669?), which in its

14 Cf. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. S. N. Majumdar, p. 730, and *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, 1882, XV, p. 145.

15 For instance, cf. the *Caitanya Maṅgala* of Jayānanda, p. 11.

16 *Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS* in the As. Soc. Beng., by H. P. Śāstrī, vol. IV, 1923, p. 54.

17 *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Sir Henry Yule, vol. II, 3rd ed., 1903, ch. LV, pp. 114-15 and p. 128, n. 6.

18 *Ibid.*, ch. LIX, p. 128, n. 6 and ch. LI, n. 2.

19 *A Voyage to Suratt* (1689), pp. 553-54.

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own turn is "founded almost exclusively on that of Manrique."[20] Of Chittagong in the Sūbah of Vaṅgāla the *Aīn-i-Akbari*, too, says, "Chāṭgāon is a large city situated by the sea and belted by woods."[21] It is essential to note in this connection that Gopīcandra (Govindacandra), who figures in the Tirumalai Rock Inscription of Rājendra Coḷa I as a king of Vaṅgāla-*deśa* is represented also in the *Kāh-bab-ḥdun-ldan* of Tāranātha as a king of Vaṅgāla (and not of *Bengal* as has been restored by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur), with his capital at Cāṭigrāma (Chittagong).[22] When Sarvānanda Vandyaghaṭīya in his commentary on the *Amara-Koṣa* (1159 A. D.) interprets the Sanskrit term *sidhma*, meaning dried fish, with the remark *yatra Vaṅgāla-vaccārāṇām prītiḥ*, it points to the same conclusion, for the common folks of the region under question, situated by the sea, relish dried fish (*śñuṭki māch*) much more than those of any other part of Bengal.

But Vaṅgāla can hardly be the same as Upa-Vaṅga of the *Vṛhat Saṁhitā* and some other old Sanskrit texts, as has been proposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[23], for Upa-Vaṅga even about 1600 A.D. when the *Digvijaya-prakāśa* was composed, denoted a part of the Gangetic delta comprising Jessore and certain other contiguous forestine tracts evidently of the Sundarbans. Equally, I beg to differ on obvious grounds from the suggestion of Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri that the home territory of the Vaṅgālas lay in Bhāṭi, which is the name given to the low-lying flats of the Gangetic delta that border on the great estuaries[24].

Besides the land or kingdom of Vaṅgāla (or Bengala), some of the early European travellers and writers have referred to a city also called *Bengola* or, more often, *Bengala*. In Blaev's Map[25], the city of Bengala is laid down opposite Chatigam, to the south-east, and as Blochmann informs us, the *Chart of the empire of the Grand Mogul* by N. Sausson (1652 A.D.) also locates the city at the same place.[26] To these we may add the evidence of Ovington who continuing says that, "Teixeira and generally the *Portugese* writers reckon that (Chātigam) as a city of Bengala itself upon the same coast, more south than Chatigam."[27] In Rennel's Map the city is not given, while in his

20 *Bengal Past and Present*, Oct.-Dec. 1916, p. 262.
21 Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
22 *Pag-Sam Jon-Zang*, Index, p. xviii, and *J.A.S.B.*, 1898, pp. 20-28.
23 *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 237-38.
24 *History of Bengal*, vol. I, Dac. Uni., p. 19.
25 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. vol. II. Amstordam, 1650, reproduced by Blochman in a reduced scale in *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, pt. I, pl. IV.
26 *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, pt. I, p. 233.
27 *Op. cit.*

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Memoir he states, "in some ancient books and maps we meet with a considerable city called Bengalla, but no traces of such a place now exist....." But, at the same time, he admits candidly that "Bengalla appears to have existed during the early part of the past century",[28] the site of it being carried away by some natural catastrophe. Gastaldi's Map of Asia (1561 A.D.) wrongly places Bangala to the west of Catigam.[29]

Dr. James Taylor in his *Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* liked to identify Dacca in Vaṅga with the city of Bengalla or Bengala in Vaṅgāla![30]. Similarly, the late R. C. Temple's assertion that the site of Lodovico di Varthema's 'City of Bengala' must have been Satgaon on an old bed of the Hughli river[31] is wholly wide of the mark, for Satgaon or Saptagrāma was a city of Rāḍha and not of Vaṅgāla. More ill-judged is the theory of Mr. Longworth Dames[32] who fixes on Gauḍa (Gaur), taken together with its subsidiary ports, viz. Satgaon or Sunargaon or both, as the place known as Baṅgāla in the very early part of the 16th century. It has been drawn into the efforts of J. J. A. Campos[33] to identify the city of Bengala with Chittagong, but only the few evidences cited above are apt to bespeak of an unmistakable distinction of the one from the other. There is, however, a pretty real sense in its identification with Dianga or Bandar on the left bank of the Karnaphuli river, as made by the Rev. H. Hosten, S. J.[34], and if it be not precisely true, it undoubtedly approaches well-nigh to the truth.

But whatever might have been the exact site of the once famous city of Bengala, we must cease to doubt its very existence, as Blochmann[35] did as early as 1873 A.D. Regarding Lodovico di Varthema, an Italian traveller of Bologn (1503 to 1508 A.D.), reports Garica de Orta[36] that he did not come to Bengal, but what Varthema[37] himself records is, "From Tarnassari (Tennasserim) we took route towards the city of Bangalla at which we arrived in eleven days. This city is one of the best that I had hitherto seen. Here there are the richest merchants ever met with." Early in the 16th century A.D. Barbosa also refers to this great city "with a good port".[38] From Orissa he goes on to

28 P. 57.
29 *J.A.S.B.*, 1908. p. 291 b.
30 Cal., 1840, pp. 92-93.
31 *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, p. 45.
32 *Barbosa*, vol. II, 1921, Published by the Hakluyt Society, pp. 134-145.
33 *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, Cal. 1919, p. 77.
34 *Bengal Past and Present*, Oct.-Dec., 1916, p. 262.
35 *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, pt. I, p. 233.
36 Cf. *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, (J.J.A.Campos), p. 75.
37 *Travels of Lodovico di Varthema*, etc. tr. by J. W. Jones and ed. by G. P. Badger, London, 1863, p. 210.
38 *Ibid*, Intro., p. cxv.

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Bengala.[39] In a geographical work of the same period, the *Sommerio de Regni*, etc. it is said that "the town of *Bengala* contains 40,000 hearths", while speaking of the rival port of *Satgaon* in West Bengal it says that it contained 10,000 hearths. Samuel Purchas (1626 A.D.) says that "Gauro the seat-Royall, and Bengala are faire Cities".[40] So also Methold designates Rajmahal and Bengalla as 'faire cities'.[41] Peter Heyleyn in his *Cosmographie in Four Bookes containing the Chronographie and Historie of the whole World, etc.*, London, 1652 A.D., mentions the following towns of Bengal: Bengala, Gauro, Catigan (Sātgaon), Taxda (Tanda), Porto Grande (Chittagong) and Porto Pequeno (Hughli)[42]. According to Manrique, who sojourned about six years at Chittagong, one of the Twelve Bhūniyās was of *Bengala*[43], and as he mentions most of the other Bhūniyās by their respective cities as their seats of government, it is likely that in case of Bengala, too, he refers to the city, as against the sub-province of that name.

How old was this city of Bengala, there is no knowing. Dr. R. C. Majumdar[44] proposes, and with good grounds, that Baṅgāla, as a city of importance like Saptagrāma and Lakṣmaṇāvatī (Gauḍa), was known to the Moor traveller, Ibn Batuta. And as such the city was as old as at least the first half of the 14th century, if not earlier and perhaps much earlier still. Curiously enough, the Hindu and Muslim writers of India have stayed their hands from making any mention of this city.

In the letter, which constitutes the earliest Portugese account of 'Bengal', addressed to the king of Portugal on the 22nd December, 1518, Dom Joao de Leyma, a Portugese nobleman serving in India, writes: "Dom Joao, my Lord, spent the last cold season in Bengal (*sic*), where he wintered,.....At the bar of this river, my Lord, there are three fathoms of water at low tide, which swells from three to six fathoms at high tide. The city is said to be two small leagues from the bar. The city is big and populous but very weak. Here was Dom Joao for awaiting the monsoon for returning to India".[45] The *Bengal* of this letter is, I believe, no other than Vaṅgāla or *Bengala* of the later Portuguese, Dutch and English writers, and the big but weak city it refers to is also *Bengala* rather than Chittagong, and if so the river in question appears to have been not the Karnaphuli, but the Sangu river, south of Chittagong, on which stood

39 Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 133.

40 *Early Travels in India*, First Series, ed. J. Talboys Wheeler, Cal., 1861, p. 1; also *Purchas His Pilgrims*, vol. V, p. 508.

41 Cf. James Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 92.

42 *J.A.S.B.*, 1913, p. 115, n.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 439.

44 *IHQ.*, XVI, p. 230.

45 *Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and other papers*, ed. Dr. S. N. Sen, Cal., Uni. 1941, pp. 88 ff.

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Dianga, identified with Dakṣiṇadāṅgā or Brāhmaṇadāṅgā[46]. It is indeed doubtful if we have any clear indication of the fact that the name Baṅgāl or rather Vaṅgāla was applied to the entire province of Bengal any time before Akbar's time when the Sūbah of Baṅgāl or rather Vaṅgāla was so constituted as to stretch right from Chittagong to Teliagarhi a pass between the Rajmahal hills and the Ganges, and in the few cases where it is believed to be so applicable[47]. It is only by close attention one may discover that they might be easily construed to yield that restricted sense in which Vaṅgāla had primarily been used. And even during and sometime after Akbar's reign *Bengala* continued to carry the conception of only a part of Bengal to the Portuguese, English and some other European sailors and writers in general. Thus Cæsar Frederick, the Venetian merchant (1563 to 1581 A.D.) says: "This island is called Sondiva (Sandvīpa) belonging to the kingdom of Bengala, distant 120 miles from Chatigan, to which place we were bound". Du Jarric wrote in 1599, "This country of Bengala, which comprises about two hundred leagues of seacoast, was inhabited partly by the native Bengalis, who were generally pagans, partly by Saracens, for the most part Patans or Parthians (Persians),....."[48] In Samuel Purchas's *Description of India* (1626 A.D.) we also find, "The Kingdom of Bengala is very large, and hath of Coast one hundred and twentie leagues, and as much within Land. *Francis Fernandes* measureth it from the confines of the Kingdom of Ramu or Porto Grande (Chittagong) to Palmerine, ninetie miles beyond Porto Pequene (Hooghli), in all six hundred miles long."[49] When the pioneer English traveller in India, Ralph Fitch, who visited Bengal in 1586 A.D. wrote, "From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola (Bakla in Backerganj District).....",[50] he evidently refers thereby to the land of Vaṅgāla. When, again, he speaks of 'Satagam (Saptagrāma) in Bengala',[51] and of Hugeli (Hooghli) as 'the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala'[52] the region might well indicate a part of Bengal, just as we find it in the description of Francis Fernandes as referred to by Samuel Purchas. But when the same Ralph Fitch mentions Tanda (near Rajmahal) as a city that 'standeth in the countrey of Bengala'[53], it alludes past doubt to the province. There are evidences, however, that *Bengala* of the early Europeans had sometimes a much wider connotation than even that of the province. Thus according to a Dutchman who made a

46 *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, p. 233.
47 *IHQ.*, XVI, p. 227.
48 *J.A.S.B.*, 1913, p. 437.
49 *Op. cit.*
50 *Ralph Fitch*, ed. J. Horton Ryley, London, 1899, p. 118.
51 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

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voyage to the Indies in December, 1603, "In all the Countrie of Bengalla (wherein Mesopotania is a Cheefe Cittie) are made all the stuffes that we Carrie to the Moloccos & are there to be had exceeding Cheefe,.....St. Thome & Cheramandalla (Coromandel) are also in Bengalla,.....There are many kingdomes in Bengalla, but the Cittie of Messopotania is the Cheeffest Citie.....".[54] Again, in a Commission from the East India Company to Alexander Sharpie and Richard Rowles, dated March, 1607/8, we read, "Or (Our) desire is that such as shall be left there doe there best endevo[rs] to finde out trade at Mesopotania in the pte (port) of Bengalla Charemendall St. Thome or any other places fitt for trade."[55] Mesopotania of the above passages is, we are told, a blunder for Masulipatam[56] near the mouth of the Kistna in the Eastern Ghats. Far from being common as these references are, they prove nevertheless that *Bengala* or *Bengalla* at times before the 18th century denoted both sides of the Bay of Bengal, precisely as the *India* of the early Portuguese records denoted the Malabar coast.[57]

From the 18th century, or at best the last quarter of the 17th century, neither confusion nor ambiguity attends the use of the term *Bengala*, for with the final *a* thereof deleted, palpably through the phoneticism of the English who were then getting the upper hand of things in the province, *Bengal* became the abiding denomination of the region that once constituted the Mughal Sūbah of *Baṅgāl*. Thus the old kingdom of Vaṅgāla, embracing the south-eastern portion of the province, and having had at least during the mediæval age for its capital the 'faire' city known to the foreigners as *Bengala*, was destined ultimately to lend its name not only to the Mughal Sūbah but also to the British presidency, in two variant forms. The much older kingdom or tract of Vaṅga had nothing to do with the process of operation leading to the gaining ground of the proper name, *Bengal*. Nor there is any warrant to believe that *Bāṅglā* or *Bāṅgālā* by which the Bengalis now designate both their province and languge is a morphological transformation of Vaṅga or even directly derived from Vaṅgāla; the nomenclature is merely a convenient translation of the English *Bengal*.

N. N. Das Gupta

54 *The First Letter Book of the East India Company*, 1600-1619, ed. Sir George Birdwood; p. 85.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 261.

56 *Ibid*, p. 73, n. 10.

57 Dr. S. N. Sen, *op. cit*, p. 89.

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Govindagupta, a new Gupta Emperor

The name of Govindagupta first became known by the discovery of the Basarh clay seal of his mother Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī.[1] In this seal Dhruvasvāminī is described as the chief queen of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Candragupta and the mother of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Govindagupta. Before the discovery of this seal Kumāragupta I was the only son of Candragupta II known to us, and as the inscriptions depict him as the immediate successor of Candragupta he was naturally regarded as the eldest son of his father. The discovery of the Basarh Seal raised the question of the relation between Kumāragupta and Govindagupta. Allan regarded him as a younger brother of Kumāragupta[2] and so did S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar who suggested that "in the absence of Kumāragupta from Vaiśālī, his younger brother Govindagupta had been put in charge of the administration of the province of Vaiśālī but as he happened to be too young, the actual administration was carried on by his mother Dhruvasvāminī.[3] In both these views the consideration of the important point why Dhruvasvāminī had been styled as the mother of Mahārāja Govindagupta was altogether ignored. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar with his usual insight into epigraphical problems, duly noted this point and discussed it in some detail. He remarked, "But let us proceed a step further and ask why, if Kumāragupta was also a son of Candragupta and Dhruvasvāminī his name is omitted and that of Govindagupta alone mentioned. The name of the latter only is specified because I think he was Yuvarāja. For in the seal of a queen it is natural to expect the names of her husband the king and her son who is heir-apparent to the throne."[4]

At the time when Dr. Bhandarkar wrote there were no inscriptions or coins to show that Govindagupta ascended the throne after the death of his father Candragupta II, and the omission of his name in the Gupta genealogies rather suggested the possibility of his having died during the life time of his father. It must be remembered however, that the omission of a name from an official genealogy cannot by itself prove that a particular person did not rule. As Hoernle, observed, the official lists are intended to record the line of descent rather than the line of succession.

1. *ASR*, 1903-4, p. 107
2. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. xi.
3. *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 60.
4. *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 3

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Dr. Bhandarkar therefore, rightly assigned to Govindagupta a brief rule between Candragupta II and Kumāragupta from G.S. 93 to G.S. 95, and suggested that he might either have been ousted by his brother Kumāragupta or died a natural death. Dr. Bhandarkar further opined that the gold coins bearing the legend Prakāśāditya may be attributed to Govindagupta and that he was identical with Candraprakāśa-mentioned by Vāmana as a son of Candragupta.[5]

Ten years after the publication of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's article, Mr. M. B. Garde, Superintendent (now Director) of Archaeology, Gwalior,, announced the discovery of a new inscription from Mandasor dated Mālava Saṁvat 524.[6] This inscription contained the named of Candragupta, his son Govindagupta and also of a feudatory ruler Prabhākara and his general Dattabhaṭa. Various views have been expressed with regard to Govindagupta, simply on the basis of the brief summary of the contents given by Mr. Garde. Prof. R. D. Banerji made the following observations :—

"But the second inscription (i.e. Mandasor inscription dated 524) does not mention Skandagupta. Did Govindagupta refuse to acknowledge his nephew after his brother's death in 455 A.D., or had he done so after Skandagupta's death"?[7] It may be inferred from this that Prof. Banerji regarded Govindagupta as the Viceroy of Mālava, during the rule of his brother Kumāragupta, and that he had independence either immediately after the death of his brother Kumāragupta, or after the death of his nephew Skandagupta. R. D. Banerji was not quite sure,[8] whether Govindagupta was alive or dead in 524 M.S., but his suggestions that he was Governor of Mālava, has influenced the views of all later writers who have tacitly taken Govindagupta as a Governor of Mālava in 467 A.D. who had rebelled against the imperial authority after Kumāragupta's death.[9] But this view is absolutely untenable. The principality of Daśapur (Mandasor) was not an imperial province. It was an autonomous state whose rulers acknowledged the overlordship of the Guptas. There can be, therefore, no question of the appointment of a Governor of Daśapura, which was ruled over by an indigenous line of kings—the Varmans. The reference to Govindagupta in the Mandasor inscription must be in his capacity of a suzerain ruler as will be shown below.

In the Gupta inscriptions we usually find that the name of the suzerain ruler is mentioned first, and then the name of the provincial gover-

5 *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 3.
6 *ASR.*, 1922-23, p. 187.
7 *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 51.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 66.
9 Cf. R. N. Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, p. 120; R. N. Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 35; R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 174. N. N. Das Gupta, *B. C. Law vol.*, Part I, p. 622.

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nor or feudatory ruler as the case may be, is stated. But in the present case this convention of the style alone is not helpful to us in determining the status of the persons named. Here Candragupta's name has brought in because he was the father of Govindagupta; and the latter is mentioned because it was the son of his general Vāyurakṣita who constructed the public works mentioned in the epigraph. The local ruler at Daśapura, who appointed Dattabhaṭa the son of Vāyurakṣita as commander-in-chief was Prabhākara. It is, therefore, idle to talk of Govindagupta's governorship of Mālava on the basis of the Mandasor inscription. It may also be pointed out here that Govindagupta was not alive in 524 M.S. (467 A.D.). His reign has been referred to in the past.[10] The use of the past perfect tense in narrating the happenings connected with Vāyurakṣita, the general of Govindagupta, show that both he and his master lived in the past. This further makes it clear that it was not Govindagupta who was ruling at Daśapura in 467 A.D., but it was probably Prabhākara, a subordinate ally of the Guptas.

It may be argued that Govindagupta might have set up an independent kingdom in Mālava after the death of his father Candragupta Vikramāditya. But this supposition is barred out by a definite epigraphic evidence. From 404 to 423 A.D. Daśapura was ruled by independent Varman kings, Naravarman and his son Viśvavarman.[11] In the Mandasor Inscription of the Guild of silk weavers dated 436 A.D. Kumāragupta I is mentioned as ruling the earth bounded by the four oceans. After him, the sovereignty of Skandagupta over Western India is proved by the Girnar Rock Inscription of that emperor himself. Thus between 404 and 467 A.D. the possibility of Govindagupta having set himself up as an independent and rival monarch in Western India is altogether ruled out. It would be equally useless to suggest that Govindagupta held the post of Governor of Mālava first under his brother Kumāragupta I and then under his nephew Skandagupta, for the simple reason that so far as Daśapura is concerned there was a dynasty of local rulers the Varmans and there was no room for a Governor appointed by the Imperial power.

10 Cf. गोविन्दवत् ख्यातगुणप्रभावं गोविन्दगुप्तोर्जितनामधेयम् ।
वसुन्धरेशस्तनयं प्रजज्ञे स दित्यदित्योस्तनयैस्सरूपम् ॥
यस्मिन्नृपैरस्तमितप्रतापैर्झिरोभिरालिङ्गितपादपद्मैः ।
विचारदोलां विबुधाधिपोऽपि शङ्कापरीतः समुपारुरोह ॥
सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना वाय्वादिना रक्षितपश्चिमेन ।
यस्यारिसेनाः समुपेत्य सेनां न कस्यचिल्लोचनमार्गमीयुः ॥

11 Vide Mandasor Stone Inscription dated M.S. 461 and Gangdhar Stone Inscription dated M.S. 480

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The reference in the Mandasor Inscription to Govindagupta's name therefore must indicate that he was at one time the suzerain of Daśapura. It has been stated above that the Basarh Seal indicates that he was the eldest son of Candragupta II and had been appointed heir-apparent. The verses cited in footnote 10 above, from new Mandasor inscription dated 467 A.D. tell us that feudatory kings deprived of their glory touched his feet by their heads. The description clearly indicates that Govindagupta was a sovereign ruler commanding the allegiance of several feudatory kings. Therefore we may conclude that Govindagupta who had been appointed as *Yuvarāja* in the life time of Candragupta ascended the throne after the death of his father sometime about 413 A.D. He enjoyed a very short rule, having either died, or been ousted by his brother Kumāragupta in 415 A.D. It is probable that Govindagupta met with a violent end. In the Tumain inscription Kumāragupta is described as protecting the earth like a good wife whom he had seized by force.[12]

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently suggested that Kumāragupta and Govindagupta are identical.[13] He argues that no coins of Govindagupta have so far been discovered, but on a variety of the coins of Kumāragupta there are the letter *Ku* and *Go* which he thinks stand for Kumāragupta and Govindagupta respectively and their occurrence on the same coins indicates the identity of the two names. But that *Go* does not stand for Govinda, is conclusively proved by its occurrence on the coins of Narasimhagupta[14] also. Evidently we cannot infer that Govindagupta and Narasimhagupta are identical. Moreover the coins of Kumāragupta on which the letters *Ku* and *Go* occur are all of the heavier standard of 148 grains, which was introduced for the first time by Skandagupta, and was continued by his successors. The gold coin of the preceding reigns was of a lighter weight, 128 grains. Therefore the coins with the letters *Ku* and *Go* belong to Kumāragupta II, a successor of Skandagupta and not to Kumāragupta I, the brother of Govindagupta.

The absence of the coins of Govindagupta cannot prove that he did not rule. No coins of Rāmagupta have been found so far, but the literary and epigraphic evidence has definitely established his existence as a ruler. As Govindagupta enjoyed a brief rule of about two years only, the number of coins struck during his reign must have been very small. It is no wonder, therefore, that his coins did not find a place in the hoards buried in subsequent times.

12 ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्मपत्नीं वीर्याग्रहस्तैरुपगूह्य भूमिम् । where उपगूह्य means 'having seized by force.'

13 *IC.*, XI, p. 231

14 *CCGD.*, pp. 137-139.

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A word may be said with regard to the position of Prabhākara. In the new Mandasor inscription he is described as the destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta dynasty. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti thinks that Prabhākara was the successor if not the son of Bandhuvarmā.[15] This view is quite plausible; but since the familiar name-ending Varman is absent it is more probable that Prabhākara did not belong to the Varman dynasty. The Mandasor inscription of the Guild of Silk-weavers does not mention any successors of the local ruler Bandhuvarman or any of the Imperial Gupta overlords who succeeded Kumāragupta I. All the kings between 436 and 472 A.D. are summarily dismissed by the enigmatic statement that many kings had passed away during this interval. It appears that after Bandhuvarman, the Varmans fell out with the Guptas, but were defeated. Prabhākara, a strong partisan of the Guptas, was then made king of Daśapura. He or his successors ruled over Daśapura, till Yaśodharman re-asserted the Varman ascendancy and raised his family to higher and greater glory.

JAGAN NATH

15 *EI.*, XXVI, p. 131, fn. 4.

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Studies in Indian Architecture

Āyādiṣaḍvarga

Āyādiṣaḍvarga is a group of six formulae. The application of each one of them gives certain results, of which some are good and, therefore, acceptable, and others, bad and therefore, unacceptable. The measurement fixed for every building, when tested by these formulae must yield acceptable *Āyādis*, then it is good; otherwise it must be discarded. *Āyādiṣaḍvarga*, then, forms a series of six tests, on the cumulative results of which the acceptability or otherwise of the measurement of a building and its orientation are generally decided.

Āyādiṣaḍvarga, as the term itself implies, are six in number, and they are (i) *Yoni*, (ii) *Āya*, (iii) *Vyaya*, (iv) *Nakṣatra* and *Vayas*, (v) *Tithi* and (vi) *Vāra*. These six formulae can well be classified under two major heads—those referring primarily to space and those, to time. In putting up a structure, we are enclosing space and the first three of the formulae deal with size and orientation. Space is enclosed generally with reference to time. When a building is put up, we have some idea, conscious or unconscious, as to how long it should last and the last three formulae deal with time. And this idea, be it noted, depends upon the purposes for which the structure is put up; and with reference to these, the size and orientation and materials used differ. All these six formulae, then, help us to take full cognisance of both space and time and build a perfect structure.

The last three of the formulae, dealing as they do primarily with time, come, it is said, within the province of the astrologer who is to decide upon the acceptability or otherwise of the results obtained. According to Hindu conception, there are twenty-seven *Nakṣatras*, or asterisms or lunar mansions, and they are grouped under the three heads of *Devagaṇa*, *Manuṣyagaṇa* and *Asuragaṇa*, as set forth below:

Devagaṇa	*Manuṣyagaṇa*	*Asuragaṇa*
Aśvinī	Bharaṇī	Kṛttikā
Mṛgasirṣa	Rohiṇī	Aśleṣā
Punarvasu	Ārdrā	Maghā
Puṣyā	Pūrvaphālguni	Citrā
Hastā	Uttaraphālguni	Viśākhā
Svātī	Pūrvabhādrapada	Jyeṣṭhā
Anurādhā	Uttarāṣāḍhā	Mūlā
Śravaṇā	Pūrvāṣāḍhā	Śraviṣṭhā
Revatī	Uttarabhādrapada	Śatabhiṣak

The basis of this classification is not clear. It may be based upon certain astrological conceptions or convictions, not always provable

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or explainable on astronomical or logical grounds. In any case, this classification is generally utilised in practical life, in so far as marriages are concerned. For instance, one born in a *Nakṣatra*, coming under *Devagaṇa*, should not, it is held, be joined in wedlock with one born in one coming under *Asuragaṇa*. This agreement of *Nakṣatra* or *Nālpporutta*, as it is called, is held to be a very important item of agreement in the horoscopes of a couple to be joined in wedlock. So important is it looked upon that lack of agreement in this matter is never condoned. For, a *Nakṣatra*, it is supposed, gives a particular impress to the character of the individual born under its auspices, and in insisting upon this agreement, an attempt, it may be assumed, is being made to secure temperamental resemblances between the bride and the bridegroom and thus ensure a happy married life. This apart, *Nakṣatras* play an important part in the everyday life of an average Hindu, both religious and secular; and, naturally enough, the same importance is carried over to the buildings. A house is built for a man to live in, and, therefore the *Nakṣatra* of the structure must agree with that of the individual, for whom it is built. The general rule, then, is that, when this formula is applied, the measurement must give a *Nakṣatra*, coming under *Devagaṇa*, or at least one coming under *Manuṣyagaṇa*, if it should be acceptable; otherwise it is to be discarded. The formula has it that the remainder, when perimeter is multiplied by eight and divided by twenty-seven is the serial number of the Nakṣatra, and its application with reference to some specific measurements is set forth below:

Yoni	*Measurement*	*Nakṣatra*
I	3	Śatabhiṣak/Pūrvabhādrapada
III	3-16	Kṛttikā (20)
V	4- 8	Puṣyā (4)
VII	5	Hastā (Citrā)
I	5-16	Mūlā (20)
III	6- 8	Śatabhiṣak (40)
V	7	Bharaṇī/Kṛttikā
VII	7-16	Puṣyā (20)
I	8- 8	Hastā
III	9	Jyeṣṭhā Mūlam
V	9-16	Śatabhiṣak (20)
VII	10- 8	Bharaṇī (40)
I	11	Puṇarvasu/Puṣyā
III	11-16	Hastā (20)
V	12- 8	Jyeṣṭhā (40)
VII	13	Śraviṣṭhā/Śatabhiṣak
I	13	Bharaṇī (20)

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It deserves to be noticed that of the seventeen perimeters mentioned above only about a third are in terms of *hastas;* all the rest have eight or sixteen *aṅgulas* in addition. Naturally, therefore, the remainder after multiplication and division will be in terms of *hastas* and *aṅgulas*. Now applying the formula to the second of the perimeters given above, the remainder will be 2 *hastas* and 8 *aṅgulas;* and this is interpreted to mean that the perimeter has fully passed through *Bharaṇī* and has passed through 20 *nāḷikas* in *Kṛttika*. If now we work up the first of the perimeters given it will be seen that the remainder is 24 and that means the *nakṣatra* is *Śatabhiṣak*. Are we to understand that the perimeter has passed through, or has it only entered, the *Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra*? Of these two alternatives we have to accept the first, since in the next case, it has finished 20 *nāḷikas*. It is interesting to point out that all practical hand-books, locally available, give *Śatabhiṣak* as the *nakṣatra* of this perimeter. If now we look through the progressive order of the perimeter, it will be seen that the change from one *yoni* to the next, that is an addition of sixteen *aṅgulas* to the given perimeter, introduces a corresponding change in the *nakṣatra*: it is the sixth in the progressive order of sequence. This rule holds good so far as those perimeters are concerned which have a specific constellation, i.e. as regards those which have passed through 20 or 40 *nāḷikas* in any particular nakṣatra. When, however, the perimeter stands between two constellations as in the case of the first of the perimeters, it is not the sixth from the one passed through, but from the one to be passsed through. Hence we have to say that from the point of view of the next perimeter, it has to be assumed to have entered *Pūrvabhādrapada*. That means in all such cases, the constellation would have to be put down as a double constellation: the perimeter stands at the junction of two constellations, though following the letter of the formula, practical architects lay down the *nakṣatra* as the preceding and not the following.

As we have already stated, the quotient in the process of the application of the formula mentioned above gives the age or *Vayas* of the perimeter. And naturally so, since the age of a human being is generally based upon the passage of the *nakṣatras*. Five are supposed to be the ages and they are callled *Bālya*—childhood, *Kaumāra*—boyhood, *Yauvana*—youth, *Vārdhakya*—old age, and *Maraṇa*—death. The last of these is to be eschewed and all the rest are acceptable, though there is, naturally enough, a preference shown so far as *Kaumāra* and *Yauvana* are concerned. The table given below set forth the ages of some measurements:

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Yoni	*Measures*	*Age*	*Yoni*	*Measures*	*Age*
I	3	Maraṇa	V	12- 8	Yauvana
III	3-16	Bālya	VII	13	Yauvana
V	4- 8	Bālya	I	13-16	Vārdhakya
VII	5	Bālya	III	14- 8	Vārdhakya
I	5-16	Bālya	V	15	Vārdhakya
III	6- 8	Bālya	VII	15-16	Vārdhakya
V	7	Kaumāra	I	16- 8	Vārdhakya
VII	7-16	Kaumāra	III	17	Maraṇa
I	8- 8	Kaumāra	V	17-16	Maraṇa
III	9	Kaumāra	VII	18- 8	Maraṇa
V	9-16	Kaumāra	I	19	Maraṇa
VII	10- 8	Yauvana	VII	19-16	Maraṇa
I	11	Yauvana	V	20- 8	Bālya
III	11-16	Yauvana			

The process of calculation is as follows. Taking the first of the perimeters given above, there is no quotient and, therefore it is said to stand for *Maraṇa*, the assumption being that the perimeter is yet to complete a cycle. On this principle, the age set down deserves to be not *Maraṇa*, but *Bālya*. This principle is, however, not seen maintained in so far as other perimeters are concerned. Compare for instance the perimeter 5 *hastas* 16 *aṅgulas*. The accepted formula gives the *Vayas* as *Bālya*, but following the precedent, it should have been put down as *Kaumāra*. Possibly we have to be guided by the words of the formula and the implications of its working, as set forth by practising architects.

The *Tithis* are thirty in number—the fifteen days from *Prati-pad* to the full moon in the bright half and from *Prati-pad* to the new moon in the dark half of the month. The moon is held to be giver of life and the presiding deity so far as longevity is concerned; and from this point of view, it is held that a child born any day between the bright *Pañcamī* and the dark *Pañcamī* is supposed to be endowed with long life. Applying the same principle, it is assumed that a measurement which gives a *Tithi* between the bright and the dark *Pañcamī* is held to be auspicious. Again from the astrological point of view, some days of the week are held to be auspicious and others, inauspicious, a preference based upon the nature of the deities presiding over the week days. From this point of view Monday or moon's day, Wednesday or Budha's day, Thursday or Jupiter's day and Friday or Śukra's day are all held to be auspicious, while the rest are held to be bad. According to one school, Sunday or sun's day is also held to be good. From this point of view, the remainder after the application of the formula should be either two or four or five or six; if

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it is any other number, it is bad and that means that particular measurement stands condemned.

The following table sets forth *Tithis* and week-days for the various measurements mentioned above :

Yoni	*Measures*	*Tithi*	*Day of the Week*
I	3	D-Navamī	Tuesday
III	3-16	D Caturdaśī-20	Sunday-Monday
V	4- 8	E-Pañcamī-40	Friday-Saturday
VII	5	B-Daśamī	Thursday
I	5-16	D Pratipad-20	Tuesday-Wednesday
III	6- 8	D-Ṣaṣṭhī-40	Sunday-Monday
V	7	D-Ekādaśī	Saturday
VII	7-16	B-Dvitīyā-20	Thursday-Friday
I	8- 8	B Saptamī-40	Tuesday-Wednesday
III	9	B-Dvādaśī	Monday
V	9-16	D-Tṛtīyā-20	Saturday-Sunday
VII	10- 8	D Navamī-40	Thursday-Friday
I	11	D-Trayodaśī	Wednesday
III	11-16	E Caturdaśī-20	Monday-Tuesday
V	12- 8	E Navamī-40	Saturday-Sunday
VII	13	B-Caturdaś;	Friday
I	13-16	D Pañcamī20	Wednesday-Thursday
III	14- 8	D-Daśamī-40	Monday-Tuesday
V	15	D-Pratipada	Sunday
VII	15-16	B Ṣaṣṭhī-20	Friday-Saturday

The process of calculation may be exemplified as follows. Assuming that the perimeter chosen is 5 *hastas* 16 *aṅgulas*, the remainder after multiplication and division is 15-8 and this means that *Pratipad* has finished 20 *nāḷikas* after the full moon. With the same perimeter, the day of the week is Wednesday, in which also 20 *nāḷikas* have been passed through. Now taking the perimeter of 7 *hastas* the day of the week is generally put down as Saturday, but, according to the practice followed in other cases, it should have been put down as Sunday. In such cases there are noticeable differences in the views of the practising architects : as a matter of fact, none of the handbooks strictly adhere to any particular system of calculation in these two matters.

Now we shall consider the formula pertaining to space, which are three in number—*Āya*, *Vyaya* and *Yoni*. Of these three *Āya* and *Vyaya* are held to be next in importance only to *Yoni*, which is held by all alike to be the most important. The general direction regarding *Āya* and *Vyaya* is that *Vyaya* should on no account exceed *Āya*. Taking the first of these, the formula laid down is that the

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remainder of P×8 by 12 is the *Āya*. The following sets forth the *Āya* of some of the perimeters:

Yoni	*Perimeter*	*Āya*	*Yoni*	*Perimeter*	*Āya*
I	3	0	VII	10- 8	10-16
III	3-16	5- 8	I	11	4
V	4- 8	10-16	III	11-16	9- 8
VII	5	4	V	12- 8	2-16
I	5-16	9- 8	VII	13-	8
III	6- 8	2-16	I	13-16	1- 8
V	7	8	III	14- 8	6-16
VII	7-16	1- 8	V	15	0
I	8- 8	6-16	VII	15-16	5- 8
III	9	0	I	16- 8	10-16
V	9-16	5- 8			

A study of these figures shows that the increase of 16 *aṅgulas* in perimeter—and note this changes the nature of the *Yoni* also—brings about a corresponding change in the *Āya* also: it becomes added to by 5-8. The total number of *Āya* units is supposed to be 12, and that is presumably the basis for dividing the product by twelve. We understand from this that 16 *aṅgulas* of the perimeter is equal to 5 *hastas* and 8 *aṅgulas* of the *Āya* measures: that is to say, the *Āya* unit is eight times the *Yoni* unit. As before, the basis of this assumption also is not known.

The formula for *Vyaya* is R of P×3 by 14. The following table sets forth the *Vyaya* for the approved perimeters set forth above:

Yoni	*Perimeter*	*Vyaya*	*Yoni*	*Perimeter*	*Vyaya*
I	3	9	VII	10- 8	3
III	3-16	11	I	11	5
V	4- 8	13	III	11-16	7
VII	5	1	V	12- 8	9
I	5-16	3	VII	13-	11
III	6- 8	5	I	13-16	13
V	7	7	III	14- 8	1
VII	7-16	9	V	15	3
I	8- 8	11	VII	15-16	5
III	9	13	I	16- 8	7
V	9-16	1			

As the perimeter is added to by 16 *aṅgulas*, the *Vyaya* becomes increased by two, reaching up to a maximum of 14. Thus in the third of the perimeter given, when 16 *aṅgulas* are added, gives the figure 13+2, i.e., 1. And note the *Vyaya* unit completes one cycle in seven series, the eight being the same as before. Thus 16 *aṅgulas*

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means 2 *Vyaya* units. That is to say, one perimeter unit is eight times the *Vyaya* unit. In other words, one *Vyaya* unit corresponds to 8 *aṅgulas*, that being the measurement which brings about a change in the perimeter from one to the other.

Of all the six canons of architecture, as the *ṣaḍvargas* are termed by some, the most important is the *Yoni* and this deals primarily with the orientation of a structure. There are eight *Yonis* and they are in order: (i) *Dhvaja-yoni* or *Eka-yoni*, (ii) *Dhūma yoni*, (iii) *Siṃha-yoni* (iv) *Kukkura-yoni* (v) *Vṛṣa-yoni*, (vi) *Khara-yoni*, (vii) *Gaja-yoni* and *Kukkura-yoni*, (v) *Vṛṣa-yoni*, (vi) *Khara-yoni*, (vii) *Gaja-yoni* and (viii) *Vāyasa-yoni*. These are also called *Yoni* No. I, No. II etc. starting from the east and moving onwards in a clockwise direction. All architectural authorities are agreed that every structure must have one or other of the odd *yonis*, and this preference is but natural, since it ensures the orientation of the structure in any one of the main directions. The general rule is that the structure must face that quarter opposite the one shown by the measurement. If the perimeter gives *Ekayoni*, then the structure must face west; if *Siṃha-yoni*, then north; if *Vṛṣa-yoni*, east and if *Gaja-yoni*, south. This agreement is generally adhered to, in so far as religious structures are concerned; but with reference to secular structures, an alternative orientation is found adopted in everyday practice. Thus *Eka-yoni* measure is accepted for every quarter; and the convention, is further extended by tolerating for a particular quarter; the preceding odd *yonis* also. Thus a structure facing west, i.e. in the east, can have only the *Eka-yoni*; that in the south can have *Siṃha-yoni* as well as *Eka-yoni*; that on the west can have *Vṛṣa-yoni* and the two preceding *yonis* and that in the north can have *Gaja-yoni* as well as the three preceding ones. Here the order of sequence is 1, 3, 5 and 7. One authority would have the order as 1, 3, 7 and 5. The result of this alternative order is practically to allow any Yoni for a building facing east or south. That facing west can have only *Eka-yoni* and that facing north can have either *Eka-yoni* or *Siṃha-yoni*. Though this much latitude is allowed, it is better always to choose the particular measurement which benefits the quarter it faces and it is true in actual practice.

The Yoni for a measurement proposed, according to one authority is to be found out as follows: multiply the perimeter by three and divide it by eight; the remainder will give the *Yoni*. Suppose the desired perimeter is 16-8 and then the *Yoni* is the R of 16-8 × 3 by 8, which gives the remainder 1; i.e., it must have *Eka-yoni*, that is to say, it stands in the east and faces west. Now suppose the perimeter is 17 *hastas*. The application of the formula gives the remainder 3 and that means we have *Siṃha-yoni*, the structure facing north. On the other hand, if the perimeter is 20 *hastas*, then the remainder

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will be four, i.e. *Kukkura-yoni* and that means it is a perimeter that is *taboo*. It will be seen that the addition of 8 *aṅgulas* changes the *Yoni* from one to the other, proceeding in a clockwise direction and since even *Yonis* are to be avoided, the addition of sixteen *aṅgulas* gives the next odd *Yoni*. Similarly, the addition of 2 *hastas* 16 *aṅgulas* gives the same *Yoni*. Thus the perimeter of 3 *hastas* has *Eka-yoni* and the addition of 2-16 again gives the same *Eka-yoni*.

Such, in brief, is the elaboration of the application of the *Yoni* formula. Given the orientation, this formula helps us to fix up the size and measurements of the building, both the maximum and the minimum. Or, given the measurements, this helps us to fix up the frontage of the structure. Thus the *Yoni* formula plays a very important part in fixing up the measurements and in determining the structure. This explains the great importance attached to the *Yonis*, which one authority characterises as the life breath of a structure.

From what has been said it will be seen that the addition or subtraction of 8 *aṅgulas* converts one *Yoni* into another forward or backward one. That means 8 *aṅgulas* may be taken as the unit of a *Yoni* measure. Hence the multiplication of the perimeter by three converts the same into so many *Yoni* units, and, since the number of *Yonis* are eight, the product is divided by 8, the remainder giving the *Yoni* of the particular measure. If there be no remainder, then it will be *Khara Yoni*, i.e. the eighth *Yoni*. This helps us to understand the significance of the *Yoni* formula. It also reveals another important factor, regarding this formula: viz., *it is based upon the acceptance of a particular variety of hasta*—the *hasta* of 24 *aṅgulas*. Naturally, therefore, this *Yoni* formula cannot be applied, when the unit of measure accepted is any other variety, such as *Vaideha, Kaliṅga* etc.

It will be clear from what has been said that the perimeter forms the starting point on which the *Ṣaḍvargas* are worked up; and the perimeter, we know is the twice the length and breadth put together. It is clear that whatever point of view we may take, artistic or utilitarian, the length and breadth must stand in some relationship with each other. Indian architectonics take the length as the basic measure, from which are to be derived the other two measures of breadth and height. In putting up a structure, one would have some idea of the place where he would have his structure as well as its length. The former is the Yoni and the latter is termed *Iṣṭadīrgha*. From these two bases is derived the relationship between length and breadth, and thence the perimeter of the building, which leads to the *Yoni*. The formula for finding out the perimeter is as follows: L×8+Y by 3=P. Suppose the desired length is 7 cubits, and the structure is to be located in the west, then the acceptable perimeter will be 7×8+5 by 3, 6⅓ which gives 20 *hastas* 8 *aṅgulas* as the

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perimeter. The same formula when reversed gives the length of the building, when the perimeter is known as well as the orientation, the formula being P × 3—Y by 8. 20-8 × 3—Y gives 56 which divided by 8 gives 7, and this is the *Iṣṭadīrgha*. When the perimeter and the *Iṣṭadīrgha* are fixed up, it is easy to find out the breadth, the formula being P by 2—L = B. Thus 20-8 by 2 gives 10-4 and when from this 7 is deducted we get the breadth 3-4 which will be the standard breadth for that perimeter. Such a relationship between length and breadth is very auspicious for human dwellings.

There is also laid down what is known as the *Guṇāṁśa* method for finding out the breadth of a given perimeter. And according to this method, the L may be equal to one and one-fourth times, one and half times, one and three-fourth times or two times or rising in this order step by step it may be 8 times the breadth of the structure, with this reservation that all such proportions involving an increase of ¾th breadth over the whole number stand condemned. Thus such measures as 1¾, 2¾, 3¾. 4¾, 5¾ 6¾. 7¾ are held to be inauspicious, while any other proportion between one and eight is good. This is further conditioned by another rule that the difference between the accepted length and breadth, whatever they be, should not be exactly one cubit as such—an aspect that is stressed by all writers. And lastly, there is another proportion laid down: when half P. is divided into eleven parts, eight parts will form the length and three parts breadth. It is thus clear that there are many proportions, in which length and breadth may be correlated, and out of these any one acceptable proportion may be chosen.

We have here briefly noticed the six canons of architecture, commonly known as *Ṣaḍ-vargas*, and these help in giving proper orientation for structure and in securing not merely an auspicious measurement, but also a correct proportion among length and breadth and height.

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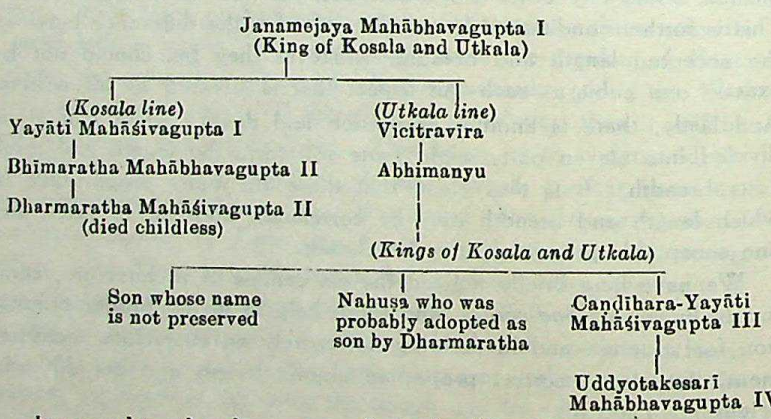
MISCELLANY

A Note on the Later Somavaṃśīs

The Narsingpur or Balijhari grant of the 4th regnal year of the Somavaṃśī king Uddyotakesarī was published by Pandit Binayak Misra in *JBORS.*, XVII, p. 1 ff. Unfortunately Pandit Misra's transcript and translation of the charter are not entirely free from mistakes. On the basis of the information supplied by this record, Pandit Misra suggests and Mr. P. Acharya actually reads the names of the Somavaṃśī kings as Janamejaya, his son Yayāti, his son Bhīmaratha and his son Dharmaratha in verses 2-5 of the Bhubaneswar inscription (*JASB.*, VII, p. 558ff:) of the 18th regnal year of Uddyotakesarī. Putting together the evidence of the two records, Pandit Misra suggests the following genealogy of the Somavaṃśī kings :



In regard to the above genealogical table, it may be pointed out that some of the suggestions are unwarranted. That the name of Abhimanyu's eldest son is lost, that Nahuṣa was the son of Abhimanyu but was adopted by Dharmaratha, and that Vicitravīra and Abhimanyu were viceroys of Utkala are not at all apparent from the Balijhari and Bhubaneswar inscriptions. All of these theories are based on wrong interpretations of epigraphic passages.

V. 4 of the Balijhari grant refers to Dharmaratha and the next verse to his *Dig-vijaya*. V. 6 clearly speaks of the fame of the *Digvijayin* (Dharmaratha) spreading over the whole of the *Cakravarti-kṣetra* bounded by the *Setu* (Adam's bridge) in the south, the Himalayas in the north, the eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) in the east, and the western mountain (the mythical *Astācala*) in the west. The following verse (v. 7) introduces king Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa) as the *bhrātā* of the *Dig-*

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vijayin Dharmaratha. Pandit Misra, however, thinks that v. 6 of the Balijhari record speaks of an unknown elder brother of Nahuṣa as a ruler of Kaṭaka (Cuttack) in the Utkala country. This wrong interpretation has given rise to the unwarranted suggestions of Pandit Misra noted above.

The verse in question runs :

सेतुप्रान्तवनान्तरे हिमवतः पर्य्यन्तभूसीमनि

प्रागम्भोधितटावनिषु कटके पूर्व्वेतरक्ष्माभृतः ।

यस्योत्कम्पदरातिराजयुवतिनिःश्वासझञ्झानिलै

र्व्याप्तङ्गस्वनदन्तरालमुखरैर्गीतं यशः कीचकैः ॥

Pandit Misra's translation of the verse runs : "There was a king, other than [those] mentioned before, at Kaṭaka in the countries lying on the coast of [the] eastern sea, extending from the Himalayas upto the forest adjoining the Setubandha. His fame was chanted by the hollow bamboos, standing adjacent to (the place of hostile kings), when they sounded, being struck with the high wind, exhaled in sigh by the trembling women of the enemies." The passage *kaṭake pūrvetarakṣmābhṛtaḥ*, however, means "in the region of the western mountain (*Astācala*)" and certainly not "there was a king, other than those mentioned before, at Kaṭaka." The idea is undoubtedly that Dharmaratha's fame, owing to his *Dig-vijaya*, was chanted by the hollow bamboos, when they were struck by the wind exhaled by the trembling women of the enemies, in all the four corners of the *Cakravarti-kṣetra*—in the forests near the *Setu* (Setubandha), in the region of the Himavat, on the shores of the eastern sea (Bay of Bengal), and in the region of the mythical western mountain from which the sun was supposed to sink down. It is a common conventional idea (*JRASB-L*, v, pp. 407-15). There is, therefore, no mention of an elder brother of Nahuṣa as a ruler of Kaṭaka in Utkala. As a matter of fact Nahuṣa is represented in the Balijhari inscription as the *bhrātā* of Dharmaratha, while the next king, the great Yayāti, is said to have been the *anuja* of Nahuṣa and apparently also of Dharmaratha. This Yayāti, who was the father of Uddyotakesarī, should be identified with Caṇḍīhara, represented as the father of Uddyotakesarī in the Bhubaneswar inscription. Moreover both the records say that the father of Uddyotakesarī made the two *rāṣṭras* (of Utkala and Kosala) free from enemies who had seized them.

V. 10 of the Balijhari grant describing the achievements of Yayāti (Caṇḍīhara) runs :

भटैरवष्टद्धमिदं नरेन्द्रैः राष्टद्वयं कोसलमुत्कलञ्च ।

अकन्टकं साधयतः समन्ताद् भुजद्वयं यस्य कृतार्थमासीत् ॥

Pandit Misra wrongly interprets the verse as suggesting that Nahuṣa's

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younger brother Yayāti was elected king of the two countries of Kosala and Utkala by the warrior chiefs. The poet, however, clearly says that the two *rāṣṭras* of Utkala and Kosala (South Kosala), which had been seized (*avaṣṭabdha*) by the combatant chiefs, were freed from enemies by the prowess of Yayāti's arms. The Bhubaneswar inscription speaks of this anarchy prevailing in Kosala and Utkala and of the rise of Caṇḍihara-Yayāti to power in the following verses:

तस्मिन् गते दिवमपुत्रिणि राजमल्ले
नानाभटैरुपहृते सकलेऽपि राष्ट्रे ।
देशान्तरस्थितवति प्रबलप्रवीरे
कालः कियानगमदल्प यथा कथञ्चित् ॥
तद्वंशे जनमेजयस्य तनयो भूतः प्रसिद्धः क्षितौ
सर्व्वत्रापि विचित्रवीर इति यस्तस्मादजन्यात्मजः ।
धन्योऽसावभिमन्युरित्यतिबली तस्योपतेजाः सुतः
श्रीचण्डीहर इत्यभून्नरपति सर्व्वैरमात्यैः कृतः ॥
भृत्यामात्यसुहृत्प्रजाश्रितजनज्ञातीष्टबन्धून् यथा-
योगं सम्परिपाल्य राष्ट्रमुभयं निष्कण्टकीकृत्य यः ।
भूतोऽनेकनरेन्द्रशेखरमणिप्रोद्गच्छदंशुच्छटा-
लोकोद्भासितपादपद्मयुगलः सर्व्वावनीवन्दितः ॥

It is said in the passage quoted above that after Dharmaratha (whose name has been read by Mr. P. Acharya in the verse immediately preceding this passage) had died without leaving any issue, some time passed away when various fighters were devastating the whole *rāṣṭra* and when a valiant hero apparently belonging to the royal family (i. e. Caṇḍihara-Yayāti) was living elsewhere. Caṇḍihara, son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vicitravīra and great-grandson of Janamejaya (mentioned earlier in v. 2), was then raised to the throne by the *amātyas* or ministers. The new king protected his servants, officials, friends, subjects, dependents, kinsmen, beloved persons and relatives and made both the *rāṣṭras* (of Utkala and Kosala) free from enemies.

It should be noticed that Vicitravīra and Abhimanyu are not described as rulers. That they were viceroys of Utkala is also not apparent from the language of the record. The most significant difference between the two accounts is that the Bhubaneswar inscription gives an account of Caṇḍihara-Yayāti's ancestry and refers to no Somavaṃśī king ruling in the period of anarchy between the death of Dharmaratha and the accession of Caṇḍihara, while the Balijhari grant speaks of Yayāti-Caṇḍihara's relations with the earlier rulers of the family and, although it refers to the anarchy prevailing in

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Utkala and Kosala, places a Somavaṃśī king named Nahuṣa in that period and describes him as a *bhrātā* of Dharmaratha and as a great fighter. The description of the collateral line of the Somavaṃśī family in the Bhubaneswar inscription leaves hardly any doubt that Nahuṣa belonged to the main line and was not a son of Abhimanyu. Nahuṣa seems to have been a son of Bhīmaratha and a *bhrātā* i. e. brother or step-brother of Dharmaratha, and Caṇḍihara-Yayāti was the *anuja* or younger cousin (great-grandfather's great-grandson) of both Dharmaratha and Nahuṣa. Anarchy seems to have set in the Somavaṃśī kingdom immediately after the death of Dharmaratha, partially no doubt owing to the establishment of Kalacuri power in the western part of South Kosala, and the language of the Bhubaneswar inscription would suggest that Nahuṣa was not the recognised ruler over the whole of the Somavaṃśī kingdom. The life of Nahuṣa seems to have been spent in fighting with the enemies, internal or external, who had seized the dominions of the Somavaṃśīs, in an attempt to recover his ancestral possessions in Utkala and Kosala. It is as yet unknown where Caṇḍihara-Yayāti was passing his days during the earlier years of this period of anarchy. But the facts that the whole of the Somavaṃśī kingdom including Kosala and Utkala had been devastated by the enemies and that this member of a collateral branch of the royal family had to free both Utkala and Kosala from the enemies may suggest that he was living outside both the countries. There is thus no clear evidence that the collateral line of the family to which Caṇḍihara-Yayāti belonged was ruling in Utkala.

So far we have only one definite clue to the chronology of the Somavaṃśīs. This is the reference to Yayātinagara, founded by Yayāti I, in the *Pavanadūta* composed about the end of the 12th century. The foundation of the city and the accession of its founder to the throne have no doubt to be attributed to dates earlier than the composition of the poem. Elsewhere I have written in favour of the suggestion that Dharmaratha of Yayātinagara was probably defeated by the generals of Rājendra Cola about 1023 A.D. But the name of this king of the Candrakula (Somavaṃśa) who probably held sway over Oḍra and Kosala, is actually Indraratha, who is further known from the Udayapur Praśasti to have also been defeated by Paramāra Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.). A consideration of the alternate occurrence of the titles *Mahābhavagupta* and *Mahāśivagupta* in this line of kings may suggest that *Indraratha*, apparently different from *Ḍharmaratha*, was another name of Nahuṣa (*Mahābhavagupta*.)

In the first half of the 11th century, probably during the reign of Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva (c. 1015-41 A.D.) of Ḍāhala, a Kalacuri prince named Kaliṅgarāja established himself at Tummāna (modern

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Tumāna in the Bilaspur District) in the western part of Dakṣiṇa-Kosala. His son Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgeyadeva in prosperity and claimed, like Gāṅgeya himself, a victory over the ruler of Utkala, probably a Somavaṃśī king. Kamalarāja's son Ratnarāja I founded Ratnapura. Pṛthvīdeva I, son of Ratnarāja I, issued the Amoda grant in 1079 A.D. Although he became semi-independent after the death of Karṇa (1041-71 A. D.) of Ḍāhala and claimed to be *sakala-kosal-ādhipati*, his feudatory position is indicated by his epithets *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda*. The Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva I, son of Pṛthvīdeva I, founder of Jājallapura and the first independent ruler of the family, is dated in 1114 A. D. He claims to have allied himself with the kings of Cedi (Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa, c. 1071-1125 A.D.), Kānyakubja (Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, c. 1114-54 A.D.) and Jejākabhukti (Candella Kīrtivarman, c. 1098 A. D.), and to have defeated and captured Someśvara. Another inscription refers to his victory over Bhujabala, king of Suvarṇapura (Sonepur in the eastern part of Dakṣiṇa-Kosala in the kingdom of the Somavaṃśīs). His son Ratnadeva II claims to have defeated Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) of the Gaṅga dynasty.

The greatest achievement of Jājalladeva I (c. 1114 A. D.) is described as a victory over Someśvara in one record and as a victory over Bhujabala of Sonepur in another. This seems to suggest that Bhujabala or Bhujabalamalla was a *viruda* of Someśvara. Whatever be the value of this suggestion, Someśvara, defeated by the Kalacuris of Western Kosala in the early years of the 12th century, seems to be no other than the Somavaṃśī *Kumāra* Someśvara, lord of Paścima-Laṅkā, who issued the Kelga (ancient *Kesalogā*, wrongly read by B. C. Mazumdar) grant (*E. I.*, XII, pp. 239-42) from Suvarṇapura. Someśvara calls himself a *Kumāra* and *Kumārādhirāja* (cf. the case of the Paramāra *Mahākumāras*), but also *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Parameśvara*. Someśvara ruled over the district round Sonepur when the other parts of the Somavaṃśī possessions in Kosala were occupied by the enemies, including the Kalacuris of Bilaspur. As the Paramāra *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman claims to be *śrīmad-arjunavarmadeva-rājye vyatīte nija-kara-dhṛta-karavāla-prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatya*, the Somavaṃśī *Kumārādhirāja* Someśvara issued the Kelga grant after the end of the rule of Abhimanyu who had been installed in the Kosala kingdom that had been presented to him by Uddyotakesarī, a successor of Mahābhavagupta: परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलतिलकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेवपादानुध्यातश्रीमदुद्द्योतकेसरीराजदेवप्रसादीकृतकोसलराज्याभिषिक्तश्रीअभिमन्युदेवस्यातीतराज्ये। The Balijhari inscription shows

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that Uddyotakesarī enjoyed the *viruda* Mahābhavagupta and was *Mahāśivaguptarājadeva-pādānudhyāta*. The Kelga inscription, which is full of textual errors, thus wrongly represents the king as *Mahābhavaguptarājadeva-pādānudhyāta*. It seems that Uddyotakesarī during the later part of his rule made Abhimanyu, apparently a prince of his own family, a sub-king of that part of his dominions that lay in Kosala, while he himself lived in Utkala where we have his records at Bhubaneswar and the neighbourhood. This arrangement may have been done to check Kalacuri and Chindaka-cola encroachment in Kosala and Gaṅga encroachment in Utkala. If Someśvara ruled in the early years of the 12th century, Abhimanyu and his elder contemporary Uddyotakesarī may be assigned to the later part of the preceding century. The position of Someśvara and Abhimanyu in the genealogy of the Somavaṃśīs cannot be determined; but the latter may have been a grandson of Abhimanyu, son of Vicitravīra, and a brother or cousin of Uddyotakesarī. As to the extirpation of Somavaṃśī rule (especially of Abhimanyu's reign), from Kosala it may be pointed out that the Chindaka (Nāga) king Someśvara (c. 1090-1110 A.D.) of Bastar and Yaśorāja, a Cola feudatory of the Chindakas (probably of Someśvara himself), claim to have conquered Kosala. Yaśorāja's great-grandson Someśvara, called "lord of the whole of Kosala", actually issued a charter from Suvarṇapura or Sonepur.

As regards Gaṅga encroachment in Utkala, it may be pointed out that the Gaṅgas began to be very powerful from the time of Vajrahasta V Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.). His son Rājarāja I (1070-78 A.D.) claims to have defeated the kings of Oḍra, of Utkala and of Kosala. This may indirectly refer to the division of the Somavaṃśī kingdom during the later years of Uddyotakesarī's rule. In the Vizagapatam grant of 1118 A.D., Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1038-1147 A.D.) is described as decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala and as residing at Sindurapora. At the same time, the Gaṅga king is said to have placed the fallen lord of Utkala in the latter's own kingdom and elsewhere also to have defeated the *Utkala-pati*. The claims that Coḍagaṅga exacted tribute from the whole land between the Ganges and the Godavari, that he destroyed the capital of the king of Mandara (probably Garh Mandaran in the Hooghly District) and that he laid the foundation of the great temple at Purī, no doubt, point to his success against the Somavaṃśīs of Utkala. It therefore seems that Somavaṃśī sovereignty was supplanted from Utkala by the Gaṅgas before 1118 A.D. and that Uddyotakesarī must have flourished before that date.

A king of Utkala, named Karṇakesarī, mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* as a contemporary of Jayasiṃha who was the feudatory ruler

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of Daṇḍabhukti under king Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1126 or *c.* 1077-1120 A.D.) of Bengal, seems to have been a successor of Uddyotakesarī. A reference to both Utkala and Kaliṅga is found in *Rāmacarita*, III, 45:

भवभूषणसन्ततिभुवमनुजग्राह जितमुत्कलल' यः।
जगदवति स्म समस्तं कलिङ्गतस्तान् निशाचरान् निघ्नन् ॥

It is said that, sometime after his victory over the Kaivarta king Bhīma, Rāmapāla "did favour to the vanquished king of Utkala who belonged to the dynasty of Bhava's ornament (i.e the family of the moon or the Somavaṃśa) and protected the whole earth from (the terror of) Kaliṅga after having killed those robbers (of Kaliṅga)". This would suggest that during the later part of Rāmapāla's reign, probably in the early years of the 12th century, the Pāla king helped the Somavaṃśī ruler of Utkala, either Karṇakesarī or his successor, against the aggression of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. The next verse of the *Rāmacarita* seems to refer to a fight between the elephant force of the Kaliṅga king and the leader of Rāmapāla's cavalry.

Another later member of the family of the Somavaṃśīs seems to have been king Vīravarakesarī, known from the Bhubaneswar inscription of his 4th regnal year (*IC.*, III, p. 122 ff.). He is said to have been the son of Rājarāja's daughter and to have defeated Gaṇapati. This Rājarāja was identified by me with the Gaṅga king Rājarāja III (c. 1198-1211 A.D.) and Gaṇapati with the Kākatīya king of that name who ruled in 1199-1260 A.D. If these identifications are accepted, it may be suggested that Vīravarakesarī was originally a feudatory of the Gaṅgas and fought in the army of the Gaṅgas against the Kākatīyas, and that he assumed independence only to be crushed by the Gaṅgas after a short reign. It is, however, tempting to suggest that Rājarāja, maternal grandfather of Vīravarakesarī, is no other than Gaṅga Rājarāja I (1070-78 A.D.). In this case, Vīravarakesarī may be regarded as the successor of Uddyotakesarī or Karṇakesarī, although his contemporary Gaṇapati cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

Raṇakesarī, another king apparently of the same family, is known from his Gobindapur (Nayagarh State) inscription probably dated in the Gaṅga year 611 falling in the period 1107-09 A.D. He seems to have been a subordinate ally of Coḍagaṅga and a pretender for the Somavaṃśī throne. Nothing definite is known about Suvarṇakesarī who, according to the *Mādalāpañji*, was the last Somavaṃśī ruler extirpated by Coḍagaṅga.

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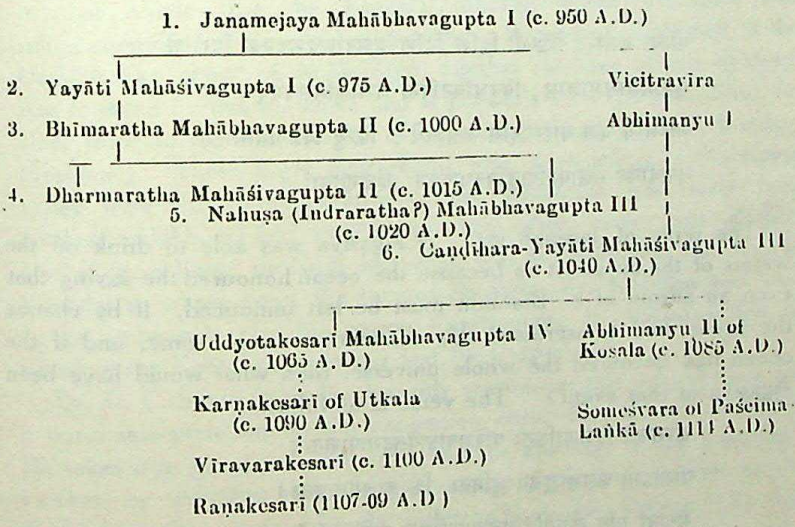
It seems that the capital of the Somavaṃśīs in Utkala was Jajpur the name being apparently a corruption of *Yayātipura*. In the days of the Somavaṃśīs Jajpur was probably called both Yayātipura and Yayātinagara, the latter being also the name of the capital of the Somavaṃśīs in Kosala. The Muslim chroniclers referred to Orissa as the kingdom of Jajnagar, probably because Jajpur (Yayātipura or Yayātinagara) became a secondary capital of the Gaṅgas after the extirpation of the Somavaṃśīs from Utkala.

In the light of the above discussion, a tentative table of Somavaṃśi genealogy and chronology may be drawn as follows:


1. Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I (c. 950 A.D.)
2. Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I (c. 975 A.D.)
Vicitravīra
3. Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II (c. 1000 A.D.)
Abhimanyu I
4. Dharmaratha Mahāśivagupta II (c. 1015 A.D.)
5. Nahuṣa (Indraratha?) Mahābhavagupta III (c. 1020 A.D.)
6. Caṇḍihara-Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III (c. 1040 A.D.)
Uddyotakesarī Mahābhavagupta IV (c. 1065 A.D.)
Abhimanyu II of Kosala (c. 1085 A.D.)
Karṇakesarī of Utkala (c. 1090 A.D.)
Someśvara of Paścima-Laṅkā (c. 1111 A.D.)
Vīravarakesarī (c. 1100 A.D.)
Raṇakesarī (1107-09 A.D.)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Mirja Raja Jaisingh and Shivaji

Mirja Jaisingh was the ruler of Amber (the former Capital of the Jaipur State, before the capital was shifted to the present Jaipur by Sawai Jaisingh) from 1622 to 1668 A.D. (1678 to 1724 Samvat). He was one of the greatest generals in the Imperial army of the Moghuls, and he was responsible for the capture of Shivaji. When I was recently engaging myself at Jaipur in examining the rich collection of manuscripts in the Palace, I had occasion to come across a Pandit there, who gave me two verses in Sanskrit, one being a message sent by Shivaji to Mirja Jaisingh and the other being Jaisingh's reply thereto. The verses do not contain the name of either; there is no direct mention of any special historical event. Yet the verses have a great interest.

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having regard to the position of the two persons connected with them. Regarding the authenticity of the verses I depend on the testimony of the Pandit. He could not have composed the verses himself and he could not have had any motive in passing any bogus verses on to me. He has some tradition of a local nature regarding the authenticity.

In the message of Shivaji, he says: "The ocean may be vast and powerful; the clouds may be roaring in all parts of the world after drinking the waters of the ocean; the mountains that were terrified by Indra may take shelter within the ocean; the ocean may be the birth-place of the celestial tree; still we have to give you this warning: You have to be longing by all means for the merciful looks of Agastya." The verse is as follows:

पीत्वा गर्जन्ति तेऽम्भो दिशि दिशि जलदास्त्वंशरण्यो गिरीणां
सुत्रामत्रासभाजाम्, विबुधविटपिनां जन्मभूमिस्त्वमेव।
गाम्भीर्यं यच्च यादस्यवहसि जलनिधे! किन्तु विज्ञापयामः
सर्वापायेन मैत्रावरुणिमुनिकृपादृष्टयः कांक्षणीयाः॥

The reply of Jaisingh is: "If Agastya was able to drink off the waters of the ocean it is because the ocean honoured the saying that even an affront of a Brahmin must be left unnoticed. If by chance the ocean had transgressed this convention at that time, and if the ocean had devoured the whole universe, then what would have been Agastya in that event?" The verse is as follows:

क्षन्तव्यो द्विजजातितः परिभवोऽप्येतद्व्यःपालनात्
पीतोऽसौ कलशोद्भवेन मुनिना, किं जातमेतावता।
मर्यादां यदि लङ्घयेद्विधिवशात्तस्मिन् क्षणे वारिधि-
स्त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरं ग्रसति चेत् कस्तत्र कुम्भोद्भवः॥

The veiled threat of one party and the appropriate rejoinder of the other party in a similar veiled manner, are quite typical of the methods of ancient Indian authors. The allusions and the implications are quite plain to every one who is acquainted with Hindu mythology and Sanskrit literature.

The question of their scholarship and ability to write the messages in Sanskrit verses, does not arise at all. It makes no difference if the messages had been written on their behalf by any versifier. We know definitely that Mirja Jaisingh's son Mirja Ramasingh was a great scholar, a profuse writer on various subjects and a good poet and dramatist; he was also a disciple of the great Kavindrācārya.

C. KUNHAN RAJA

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Were the Vākāṭakas the Rulers of Aśmaka ?

In my article on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,[1] I have shown that the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli plates discovered in a village near Kolhapur describe Mānāṅka, the grandfather of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Avidheya in the following words :—

सविदर्भाश्मकविजेता मानाङ्कनृपतिः श्रीमत्कुन्तलानां प्रशासिता ।

This passage[2] states that the king Mānāṅka conquered Vidarbha and Aśmaka and ruled over the glorious Kuntala country. This Mānāṅka was the founder of the Early Raṣṭrakūṭa Dynasty. I further showed in that article that the Kuntala country where Mānāṅka was ruling comprised the upper Kṛṣṇā valley. Mānapura mentioned in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant[3] of Abhimanyu, another member of this dynasty, was founded by this Mānāṅka and is probably identical with Māṇ, the chief town in the Māṇ *tālukā* of the Sātārā District in the Bombay Presidency. These Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were ruling in the Kṛṣṇā valley were the contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas who were their northern neighbours and with whom they often came into conflict. One of these kings, probably Devarāja, was the Kuntaleśa (the lord of Kuntala) at whose court the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador by his patron Candragupta II Vikramāditya as stated in the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.[4]

Dr. D. C. Sircar, who has recently written on this subject, has put a novel interpretation on the expression *śrīmat-Kuntalānām praśāsitā*. He takes it to mean that Mānāṅka was the chastiser of the Kuntalas.[4] Further, he identifies this Kuntala country with the kingdom of the Kadambas. In a note recently published in this Journal,[5] he has suggested that Aśmaka which was one of the countries conquered by Mānāṅka was identical with the dominion of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas. It is proposed to examine these identifications in some detail in the present article.

Let us first take the identification of Kuntala. As Dr. Sircar has shown, Mayūraśarman, the progenitor of the Kadamba family is, in some later records, represented as ruling over the Kuntala country which shows that the country round Vanavāsī (modern Banavāsi in

1 *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, pp. 36 f. This reference to Kuntala was missed by the editor of the plates who read the words as *sāt-Kunta-dharā nāṁ*. My reading has now been accepted by scholars.

2 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XVI, pp. 88 f.

3 *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, p. 45.

4 *A New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 88, n.1.

5 *Ante*, vol. XXII, pp. 233 f.

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the North Kanara District of the Bombay Presidency) was then included in Kuntaladeśa. But this does not mean that Kuntala did not comprise any territory to the north of the Kadamba kingdom. The boundaries of ancient countries have varied from time to time. As I have shown elsewhere, the Kṛṣṇā valley where Mānāṅka and his descendants were ruling was undoubtedly included in the Kuntala country. The following verse[6] which occurs in the Nilgund plate describes the Later Cālukya emperor Jayasiṁha II *alias* Mallikāmoda as ruling over the Kuntala country where flows the famous river Kṛṣṇavarṇā (i.e., the Kṛṣṇā which gets this name after its confluence with the Veṇā near Māhuli, 3 miles east of Sātāra):—

विख्यातकृष्णावर्णे तैलस्नेहोपलब्धमरलत्वे ।
कुन्तलविषये नितरां विराजते मल्लिकामोदः ॥

The Later Rāṣṭrakṭas[7] and Cālukyas[8] who ruled over the country watered by the Kṛṣṇā and its tributaries are described in contemporary records and Sanskrit works as rulers of Kuntala. The capital of the Later Rāṣṭrakūṭas was at Mānyakheṭa, modern Mālkheḍ in the Gulbarga District of the Nizam's State, while that of the Later Cālukyas was at Kalyāṇ near Bidar in thde Bidar District in the same State. Both these capitals are situated several miles north of the Kṛṣṇā. Mālkheḍ is about 250 miles, as the crow flies, north by east of Banavāsi and more than 50 miles north of the Kṛṣṇā. Kalyāṇa is about 50 miles almost due north of Mālkheḍ. According to Rājaśekhara Kuntala was included in Mahārāṣṭra.[9] The *Udayasundarīkathā* says that Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paiṭhaṇ on the Godāvarī, was the capital of the

6 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 153. Dr. Barnett translates, 'Mallikāmoda is very illustrious in the land of Kuntala, which is famous for the (river) Kṛṣṇavarṇā and has a loyalty arising from affection for Taila (II)'. There is a beautiful play on the words, for which see *ibid.*, p. 144. Dr. Fleet says that Kuntala is well known as a general name for the Western Cālukya territory about the Ghauts.

7 Cf. Rājaśekhara, *Karpūramañjarī* (Harward Or. Series), Act I, आत्थे एत्थ दक्खिणावधे कुन्तलेसुं सअलजणवल्लहो वल्लहराओ णाम राजा । As I have shown elsewhere, this probably refers to the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa king as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were known by the *birudа* Vallabharāja.

8 Padmagupta in his *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (I, 74) refers to the contemporary kings of the Later Cālukya Dynasty as *Kuntalendra*. Bilhaṇa also refers to the Later Cālukya kings as rulers of Kuntala. See *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Canto. V, nos. 30, 47. 81, 84 etc.

9 See the following passage from Rājśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act III:—

हेमप्रभा—मिणिद्धसामलधणकुडिलकुन्दले कुन्दलेमरो एसो ता इमस्म दंसणेण सहलीकुर, पसइममप्पभागं गआरणणिम्माणम् ।

सीता—जो मरहट्ठवरिट्ठो ।

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Kuntala country.[10] This accords with the tradition that Hāla, the author of the *Saptaśatī*, an anthology in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, ruled at Pratiṣṭhāna in the Kuntala country.[11] The three Mahārāṣṭras of which Pulakeśin II became emperor, evidently after defeating the Kalacuris, were probably (1) Vidarbha comprising modern Berar and the Marathi-speaking parts of the Central Provinces and the northern districts of the Nizam's State, (2) Northern Mahārāṣṭra including Ṛṣika (Khandesh), Nāsikya (Nasik), Mūlaka (the country round Pratiṣṭhāna) and Aśmaka (modern Ahmadnagar and Bhir Districts) and (3) Southern Mahārāṣṭra or Kuntala.[12] These references will show that Kuntala in ancient times did not comprise only the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaon and Dharwar Districts as stated by Dr. Sircar, but that it extended much further to the north so as to include what we now call the Southern Maratha country.

Some passages in early literature indicate, on the other hand, that in early, times the Kuntala country did not include the territory round Vanavāsī. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāyupurāṇa* mention Vanavāsī separately from Kuntala.[13] The *Daśakumāracarita* mentions in the eighth Ucchvāsa the ruler of Kuntala as a powerful feudatory[14] of the emperor of Vidaṛbha He treacherously attacked his liege-lord in the rear while he was fighting with the Vānavāsya (*i.e.*, the ruler of Vanavāsī) who had invaded the country of Vidarbha. As I have shown elsewhere,[15] the narrative in that chapter contains a reflex of the actual historical events which occurred in the last period of

10 Cf. *Udayasundarīkathā*, कुन्तलेषु तटे गोदावरीति महासरितः प्रतिष्ठानं नाम नगरम् । p. 21; प्रतिष्ठाननगरपरमेश्वरः कुन्तलानामधीश्वरो राजा सलयवाहनो भवान् ।

11 Cf. Bhuvanapāla's com. on the *Saptaśatī* (v. 1)—हाल इति शातवाहनस्य कुन्तलाधिपस्य नाम ।

See also *Vajjālagga* v. 468—पुरिसविसेसेण सइत्तणाइं न कुलक्कमेण महिलाणं । सग्गं गए वि हाले न मुयइ गोला पइट्ठाणं ॥

12 Cf. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. III, p. 254. It is noteworthy that Pulakeśin II who ruled over this territory is called the king of Mahārāṣṭra by Yuan Chwang.

13 Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvan, Jambūkhaṇḍa, ch. 9, and *Vāyupurāṇa*, ch 45, vv. 124-27.

14 Cf. *Daśakumāracarita* (B.S.S.), p. 138. अश्मकेन्द्रस्तु कुन्तलपतिमेकान्ते समभ्यधत्त । प्रमत्त एव राजा कलमाणि नः परामृशति । कियत्यवज्ञा सोढव्या । मम शतमास्ते हस्तिनां पञ्चशतानि च ते ।...अयं च वानवास्यः परं मे मित्रम् । अमुनैनं दुर्विनीतमग्रतो व्यतिषक्तं पृष्ठतो प्रहरेम ।

15 *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

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Vākāṭaka rule. It clearly indicates that the Vanavāsī kingdom was different from Kuntaladeśa. In his Kāvyamīmāṁsā Rājaśekhara also mentions Vānavāsaka (i.e., the country round Vanavāsī) as different from Kuntala.[16] These references leave no doubt that at least in the period during which the Vākāṭakas and the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas were flourishing the Kadamba kingdom was outside the country of Kuntala and that Kuntala comprised the upper and central valleys of the Kṛṣṇā. This is precisely the region where the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas were ruling.

It may however be asked, 'How is Mānāṅka who ruled over this territory called the chastiser of the Kuntala?' The answer to this question is that the expression *śrīmat-Kuntalanāṁ praśāsitā* does not denote any such chastisement. The root *śās* or *praśās* no doubt conveys both the senses of governing and chastising, but the former occurs when the object is some territory and the latter when it is a living being.

Notice, for instance, the following cases—

(A) Governing—

(i) सत्पुत्रः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रशशास धर्म्मेण मेदिनीम् । v. 8.
Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave xvi at Ajaṇṭā.

(ii) सर्व्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान्सुराष्ट्रान् ।
Gupta Inscriptions, p. 59.

(iii) कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति । *Ibid.* p. 82.

(B) Chastising or controlling—

(i) राज्ञः प्रवरसेनस्य शासनं रिपुशासनम् । *Ibid.* p. 245.

(ii) प्रशासितारं सर्वेषाम् । *Manusmṛti, xii.* 122.

In the present case the object of *praśās* is the *Kuntala* country. Hence the correct meaning of the expression *śrīmat Kuntalānām praśāsitā* is 'the ruler or governor of the glorious Kuntala country.' That this was the intended meaning is also clear from the contrast in the two expressions *sa-Vidarbh-Āśmaka-vijetā* and *śrīmat-Kuntalānāṁ praśāsitā*. The drafter of the record has prefixed the adjective *śrīmat* meaning 'glorious' or 'prosperous' to the name of Kuntala where the king Mānāṅka was ruling, whereas he has not done so in the case of the countries Vidarbha and Aśmaka which the king had con-

16 *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, (G.O.S.). First Ed. p. 93, माहिष्मत्याः परतो दक्षिणापथः । यत्र महाराष्ट्र माहिषकाश्मकविदर्भकुन्तलकथकैशिकसूर्पारककाञ्चीकेरलकावेरसुरलवानवासक...प्रभृतयो जनपदाः ।

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quered. This should leave no doubt that Kuntala was the homeland of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.

We shall next take up the identification of Aśmaka. The passage from the *Suttanipāta* referred to by Dr. Sircar shows that Aśmaka lay to the south of the Godāvarī.[17] To the north of this country was Mūlaka the capital of which was Pratiṣṭhāna[18] (modern Paiṭhāṇ on the Godāvarī). The Nasik cave inscription of Puḷumāvi groups together Asika (Ṛṣika or modern Khandesh) Asaka (Aśmaka or modern Ahmednagar and Bhir districts and Mūlaka (modern Aurangabad district).[19] The name of Mūlaka does not occur in later literature or inscriptions. The narrative in the eighth Ucchvāsa of the *Daśakumāracarita* mentions the rulers of Ṛṣika and Aśmaka as feudatories of the emperor of Vidarbha, but is silent about Mūlaka. Aśmaka may therefore have extended in the north up to the Sātmālā range.

Dr. Sircar thinks that Aśmaka must have included southern Berar the capital of which was Vatsagulma. He has advaced two reasons for this view. The first is that the country of Vidarbha, of which the ancient capital was Kuṇḍinapura in the Amraoti District, lay on both the banks of the Varadā (Modern Wardhā) according to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. He suggests by this that Vatsagulma was not included in either of these divisions of ancient Vidarbha. As a matter of fact Vatsagulma (modern Bāsim) lies only about 75 miles from the west bank of the Wardha and is north of the Pengaṅgā which forms the southern boundary of modern Berar. It was therefore undoubtedly included in Western Vidarbha. The statement in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* must not be taken quite literally. Just as there was some portion of Vidarbha north of Multan where the Wardhā takes its rise, similarly there was undoubtedly some territory of Vidarbha south of the confluence of the Wardhā with the Pengaṅgā which afterwards joins the Godāvarī. In the age of the Vākāṭakas Vidarbha was divided not by the river Wardhā, but by the Ajaṇṭā or Sātmālā range. The northern portion was under the rule of the elder branch of the Vākaṭaka family which had its capital first at Nandivardhana and later on at Pravarapura and Padmapura. The capital of the southern portion which extended to the Godāvarī was Vatsagulma. We need not therefore suppose that Vidarbha was confined only to the territory north of the Pengaṅgā.

The second and more important reason advanced by Dr. Sircar to support his view is that the people of Vatsagulma are distinguished from those of Vidarbha in some passages of Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-*

17 *Suttanipāta*, Pārāyaṇavaggo, Vatthugāthā, 5, 2. सो अस्सकास्स विसये मूलकस्स समासने । वसी गोधावरीकूले उञ्छेन च फलेन च ॥

18 *Ibid.*, v. 36.

19 *Ep. Ind.* vol, VIII, pp. 10 f.

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sūtra.[20] This appears, however to be an instance of *Māṭhara-Kauṇḍinya-nyāya* explained and illustrated by Patañjali.[21] Though *Vatsagulma* was included in Vidarbha, it is mentioned separately as its customs were in some respects different from those of the other parts of Vidarbha. An analogous instance is furnished by the Mahārāṣṭrakas and Dākṣiṇātyas who are mentioned separately in the *Kāma-sūtra*.[22] Mahārāṣṭra being situated in South India, its inhabitants were included among the Dākṣiṇātyas, (Southerners), but they are mentioned separately as in some respects they had peculiar customs. Vatsagulma need not therefore be supposed to have been outside the limits of ancient Vidarbha.

An insuperable objection to the proposed identification of the Vatsagulma country with Aśmaka is the explicit statement of Rājaśekhara. In his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (p. 10) Rājaśekhara says—

तत्रास्ति मनोजन्मनो देवस्य क्रीडावासो विदर्भेषु वत्सगुल्मं नाम नगरम् ।

This clearly shows that the territory round Vatsagulma was included in Vidarbha.[23] In his *Karpūramañjarī*[24] Rājaśekhara mentions *Vacchchhomī* (Sanskrit, Vātsagulmī) as a synonym of the *Vaidarbhī rīti*. That Vatsagulma had become famous in ancient times as a centre of Prakrit literature is clear from such Prakrit *kāvyas* as *Harivijaya* which, as I have shown elsewhere,[25] was composed by the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasena of the Vatsagulma branch. Rājaśekhara's statement about Vatsagulma being included in Vidarbha is also corroborated by the narrative in the eighth *Ucchvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracarita* to which I have referred above more than once. As stated before, the narrative belongs to the last period of Vākāṭaka rule. It shows that six feudatory kingdoms of the south, including Aśmaka, owned the supremacy of the emperor of Vidarbha. This state of things existed only during and immediately after the reign of Hariṣeṇa, the last great Vākāṭaka emperor. All the events and topographical references in that narrative can be satisfactorily ex-

20 *Kāmasūtra* (Kashi Sanskrit Series), pp. 261, 268.

21 Cf. तद्यथा 'ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेविषाताम्' इति । नेदानीं तौ भुञ्जाते । *Mahābhāṣya* (N. S. ed.) vol. I, p. 118.

22 *Kāmasūtra*, p. 102.

23 It would rather seem that Vidarbha in the narrow sense meant Southern Vidarbha of which the capital was Vatsagulma, northern Vidarbha being called Krathakaiśika. Kālidāsa identifies the two, but Rājaśekhara distinguishes between them. See the passage from the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, cited above in n. 16.

In his *Bālarāmāyaṇa* also Rājaśekhara gives the name *Krathakaiśika* of Northern Vidarbha and mentions its capital Kuṇḍinapura. See *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*, Act III, v. 50.

24 *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v 1.

25 *Ante*, vol. XXI, pp. 196 f.

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plained if referred to the period following the death of Hariṣeṇa.[26] We now know that Hariṣeṇa belonged to a younger branch of the Vākāṭaka family which reigned at Vatsagulma (modern Basim in the Akola District of Berar). This place must have continued as the royal capital during the reign of Hariṣeṇa's successor also. In that case Vatsagulma was not only included in Vidarbha, but was its capital. It was outside the limits of Aśmaka, for the ruler of the latter country is described in the narrative as a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that the country over which the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Mānāṅka was ruling was Kuntala and that the Vatsagulma country was comprised in Vidarbha which extended from the Narmadā in the north to at least the Godāvarī in the south.

V. V. MIRASHI

The Location of Malaya

In a note on the Malaya mountain in *IHQ*, *XXII*, pp. 223-27, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja criticises the view that "Malaya is the southern end of the Western Ghats" and says, "the Purāṇas do not help us in locating the Malaya mountain." We would draw the attention of Dr. Kunhan Raja to the evidence supplied by the Puranic sections on Indian geography.

It is well known that the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu*, *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Vāmana* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas contain a long list and the *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma* and *Śiva* Purāṇas a short list of the Indian rivers. According to both these lists, the rivers Kṛtamālā and Tāmraparṇī issue from the Malaya mountain. Even the shortest list of rivers found in the *Agni* Purāṇa speaks of the Kṛtamālā as rising from the Malaya. Of the two rivers mentioned above, Tāmraparṇī, still known by its ancient name, flows from the southern part of the Western Ghats to the Bay of Bengal. The celebrated ports of Korkai and Kayal stood on its banks. The identification of the Kṛtamālā with the modern Vaigai running by Madura or Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā is corroborated by the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, a biography of the Bengali Vaiṣṇava saint Caitanya (1485-1534 A.D.). It is clearly stated in this work that Caitanya took his bath in the waters of the holy Kṛtamālā at Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā in course of his tours of pilgrimage in South India.[1]

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

26 See my article 'Historical Data in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*', *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 26 f.

1 For the identification of the Malaya mountain, see Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 109 ff.; Pargiter, *Transl. Mark. Pur.*, pp. 285, 303-4; Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s. v.

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Ghaṭotkacagupta

There is a gold Gupta coin in the Leningrad Museum with the king on the obverse, (nimbate, standing to left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in the right) Garuḍa standard is on the right of the king; beneath the left arm is inscribed *Ghaṭo* with a crescent above. It bears traces of a marginal legend ending in *(gu)pta(h)*. On the reverse of the coin is the Goddess (holding lotus in left and *pāśa* (fillet) in out-stretched right hand) with a symbol on the top left corner. The legend on this side is not certain but seems to be *Kramāditya*. The coin is classified as unattributed by Mr. Allan in his catalogue.[1]

The initial *Ghaṭo* and *guptah* in the margin naturally suggest that the name of the issuer of the coin was Ghaṭotkacagupta; but so far no king among the Imperial Guptas is known with this name other than Ghaṭotkaca, the father of Candragupta I. As Mr. Allan has pointed out, the coin cannot be attributed to him as the style and weight of the coin places its issue about the end of fifth century.[2]

One Ghaṭotkacagupta is known to us from an oval seal (1½″ × ¾″) from Basarh, the ancient Vaiśālī. It contains within a single border line '*Śrīghaṭotkacaguptasya*.' Dr. T. Bloch identified this Ghaṭotkacagupta with Ghaṭotkaca, the father of Candragupta I.[3]

Vincent Smith also accepted his identification.[4] But it is hardly convincing. The seal was found with the seal of Queen Dhruvasvāminī, wife of Candragupta II and mother of Govindagupta. So it could only be contemporary member of Candragupta II's family. But Mr. Allan is not inclined to attribute the said coin to the issuer of this seal, considering that the issuer of the coin was certainly later than the issuer of the seal.[5]

Recently we have come to know a Ghaṭotkacagupta from a fragmentary stone inscription found at Tumain (Dist. Guna, Gwalior State). More than half of it has broken away from left hand side and only right portion of the inscription is preserved. The available portions of the second, third and fourth line of the inscription run thus:—

1 *B. M. C.*, p. 149, pl. XXIV, 3; introduction p. liv.
2 *Ibid.*, introduction liv.
3 *Rep. Arch. S. I.*, 1903-4, p. 102.
4 *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 153; *E. H. I.*, p. 266, n. 2.
5 *Op. Cit.*, p. liv.

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2 .....श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्स[मग्राम्]ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्मपत्नीम् वीर्य्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् ।

3 .....गौरः क्षित्यम्बरे गुणसमूह मयूखजालो नान्मोदितस्स तु घटोत्कचगुप्त चन्द्रः । स पूर्व्वजानां स्थिर सत्वकीर्तिर्भुजार्जितां कीर्तिमभिपद्य ।

4 .....(गुप्तान्वया)नां वसुधे श्वराणाम् समाशते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते । कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ पृथिव्यांविराजमाने शरदीव सूर्य्ये ।[6]

These lines refer to Candragupta II, his son Kumāragupta and to one Ghaṭotkacagupta, who won by the prowess of his arms the good fame attained by his ancestors. The date of the record is 116 of the era of the Gupta sovereigns when Kumāragupta I was ruling the earth.

From these lines it appears that this Ghaṭotkacagupta was one of the direct descendants of Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta lineage. The portion giving the exact relation of Ghaṭotkacagupta with Kumāragupta I is missing, but the portion preserved indicates that he was most likely his son,[7] and was probably the Viceroy of Eastern Malwa.

To me, Ghaṭotkacagupta of this inscription and that of the seal and the coin is one and the same person.

The seal was found with the seal of Dhruvasvāminī and may be taken as contemporary to the latter. Dhruvasvāminī issued the seal when Candragupta II was alive, as is evident from the fact that she refers herself as the wife of Candragupta II and the mother of Govindagupta. If it was issued in the reign of Kumāragupta I, she would have mentioned herself as the queen-mother, as she was also the mother of Kumāragupta. And as such the seal was issued some time earlier than 93 G.E., the last known date of Candragupta II.[8] Ghaṭotkacagupta must have been elderly enough in 116 G.E., when the Tumain record was written, as he is credited with retaining the good name of his ancestors. It is very likely that he issued the seal when he was quite young and was not assigned with any official position. The period between the two dates is no bar to the suggestion and fit in the picture.

Now, the issue of the coin by this Ghaṭotkacagupta is also not improbable. He may have later succeeded his father Kumāragupta I or his brother Skandagupta and issued the coin, and as such his period should be the same as has been assigned to the coin by Mr. Allan on the basis of style and fabric.

Having ascended the throne at an advanced age, he probably

6 *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 117; D. C. Sarkar; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 495-96

7 Ray Chaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 481.

8 Sanchi stone Inscription (*C. I. I.*, vol. III, p. 29).

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ruled for a very short period. This fact is clear from the extreme paucity of the coin. It does not matter whether he succeeded Kumāragupta I or Skandagupta. The last known date of Kumāragupta I is 136 G. E. from the coins[9] and the same is the earliest known date of Skandagupta.[10] If Ghaṭotkacagupta succeeded Kumāragupta he retained the throne for a few months only. Kumāragupta might have died in the early part of that year and Skandagupta ascended the throne in the later part of the year. If he succeeded Skandagupta, even then his reign was short, as the last known date of Skandagupta is 148 G. E.[11] and the earliest known date of Kumāragupta II is 155 G.E.[12] Within this short period of seven years four kings Ghaṭotkacagupta, Purūgupta, Narasiṃhagupta and Kumāragupta ruled in succession. Naturally their reigning periods were short.

But the other evidences available indicate that Ghaṭotkacagupta claimed the throne on the death of his father Kumāragupta I and not on the death of his brother Skandagupta.

The two important stone inscriptions situated at Bhitarī[13] and Behār[14] indicate that Skandagupta was not the legal heir of Kumāragupta I and the son of the chief queen—*agramahiṣī* or even of *mahiṣī*. In all the inscriptions of his predecessors and the successors the name of their mother, grand-mother and other fore-mothers are mentioned along with the names of father, grandfather and other fore-fathers. But Skandagupta in these inscriptions while mentions the name of his father, grandfather and other forefathers with the name of his fore-mothers and grandmother, he does not mention the name of his mother. The ommission is significant and shows that he was shy of his mother, who was neither the *agramahiṣī* nor *mahiṣī* and could not feel pride in her. And as such he had no natural claim over the throne, even if he was older. The only way for the ambitious Skandagupta to achieve the throne was to oust the legal heir by fair or foul means, and he succeeded in it. We see in the following lines of the Junagarh rock inscription that he did have some struggle for the throne with some prince: *.....vyāpetya sarvvānmanujendra-putraṃ lakṣmīh svyam yaṃ varyancakār.*[15]

The line unmistakenly does not refer to his glorious victory over the Puṣyamitras and the Hūṇas as the rock was inscribed within two

9 *B. M. C.*, p. 107.
10 Junagarh Rock Inscription (*C. I. I.*, vol. III, p. 56).
11 Gaudhum Rock Inscription.
12 Sarnath Inscription.
13 *C. C. I.*, vol. III, p. 53, ll. 7-8.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 50. ll. 22-23.
15 *C. I. I.*, vol. III, p. 59. l. 5.

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years of his accession to throne. This *manujendraputra*, whom he had to face, could not be any one else but Ghaṭotkacagupta, who as the legal heir, must have claimed the throne and issued the coin as the token of his sovereignty.[16] If Skandagupta had ascended the throne as a matter of right he had not to worry to proclaim himself as '*Lakṣmī svayam yam varyancakār.*'

Thus there is every reason to conclude that Ghaṭotkacagupta of the coin, seal and the inscription is one and he succeeded Kumāragupta I and preceded Skandagupta; and he can now be safely placed in the Gupta chronology between them.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

16 Some scholars believe that the prince, who preceded Skandagupta was Purūgupta. It is disputable if Purūgupta ascended the throne at all. But if he ever ascended the throne, he must have succeeded Skandagupta and not preceded him. If Skandagupta succeeded after a struggle, he would never let him or his heirs survive to come into power again. It would be an undiplomatic move, and a perpetual danger over his head. A man like Skandagupta would not do so. We see, the descendants of Purūgupta had a long reign after him, which was only possible when Purūgupta succeeded Skandagupta.

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REVIEWS

WOVEN CADENCES OF EARLY BUDDHISTS (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. XV being the metrical translation of the *Sutta-nipāta*) by E. M. Hare. Oxford University Press, London, 1944.

Of the few poetical works in Pali, *Sutta-nipāta* is not only one of the finest collections of poetical pieces but is one of the earliest texts to give a realistic account of the life of Buddha and his teachings. There are already one German and three English translations of the text but as most of these were written at a time when our knowledge of Buddhist religion and literature was not very advanced, and so these fall short of the expectations of a present-day student. We therefore welcome this translation as it has the advantage of having a background of the latest researches on Buddhism and particularly of the latest exposition of the technical terms of the Buddhist ethics and philosophy. The English equivalents chosen by the translator are as appropriate as possible and reveal the grasp of the writer of the actual meaning of Pali words. Though the rendering is metrical, the writer has not in the least sacrificed the spirit of the text for the sake of metre. It will be an excellent hand-book to our students for the study of the *Sutta-nipāta* and will help them greatly in picking up the suitable English equivalents of Pali words. The translation is not only lucid but offers a very pleasant reading like a beautiful poetical work. The usefulness of the text has been much enhanced by the detailed Indexes, Tables of concordance, and the Afterword. We offer our best thanks to the translator for this contribution to our Buddhistic studies.

N. DUTT

JAGADVIJAYACCHANDAS OF KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA. Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras. The Ganga Oriental Series—No. 2. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1945.

MUDRĀRĀKṢASAPŪRVASAṂKATHĀNAKA of Anantaśarman. Edited by Dasharatha Sarma, M.A., D.Litt. The Ganga Oriental Series—No. 3. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1945.

The Ganga Oriental Series—introduced during wartime scarcity of paper and other printing materials—deserves congratulation and encouragement from all lovers of Indology. It proposes to bring

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to light specimens of the valuable treasures enshrined in the rich manuscripts library of the State of Bikaner. We have before us the first three numbers of the Series, containing editions of interesting Sanskrit works on the late medieval period.

Number 1—*Akabaraśāhiśṛṅgāra-darpaṇa*, a treatise on Sanskrit poetics written at the instance of emperor Akbar, has been noticed by the undersigned in *Modern Review* (July, 1944).

Number 2 is another interesting work, almost unique in character. It is called *Jagadvijayacchandas* or *Jagadvijayadaṇḍaka*, available in two versions, Bṛhat and Laghu or Long and Short. The present edition contains both the versions. It is based on four manuscripts, two of each version, one accompanied by an anonymous commentary and the other containing the text alone. The contents of all the four manuscripts are presented separately in four sections with a separate section for editorial notes. The two sections reproducing the manuscripts of the texts appear to be redundant as the variant readings noticed there, could have been more usefully recorded in the form of foot-notes or even included in the editorial notes.

The work consists of a string of epithets, with occasional rhymes. which according to the commentary of the longer version refer to Lord Śiva while the commentary of the shorter version refers them to a king. The learned editor thinks that the king may be Jehangir and the author of the work the great Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī of Benares. But this can be regarded as nothing but a mere surmise based on insufficient data. Jagadvijaya, the title of the work, is supposed to be the epithet of a king and as no Hindu ruler is known to have used such an epithet but as it may be the Sanskrit equivalent of the name Jehangir, Jagadguru is sought to be identified with emperor Jehangir. But has not the poet got any liberty to introduce a new epithet, if it may at all be regarded as an epithet? Assuming that it is an epithet and that it has been used as such with reference to Śiva in the longer poem what harm is there if it refers to a Hindu king?

As regards the name of the author one of the manuscripts contains the following line at the end:—श्रीसर्वविद्यानिधान कवीन्द्राचार्याणां लघु जगद्विजयच्छन्दः पुस्तकम्। शुभमस्तु॥ This is supposed to be a reference to the name of the author as the manuscript gives the name of the owner elsewhere. But it seems to be more reasonable to suggest that the manuscript represents a later transcript of an earlier one belonging to Kavīndrācārya, the scribe having copied out even the name of the original owner. It seems the initial verse of the commentary of the longer version contained the name of the author, but the portion of the manuscript where the name possibly occurred

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is worn out and the reading suggested by the learned editor as [क]वी[न्द्राचार्यरचि]ते is based on very dubitable data.

Number 3 in the Series publishes two works—*Mudrārākṣasapūrvasaṃkathānaka* of Ananta Śarman (17th century) and *Mudrārākṣasasanāṭakapūrvapīṭhikā* which is anonymous—describing incidents preceding those narrated in the famous Sanskrit drama the *Mudrārākṣasa* or in other words, little-known obscure incidents leading to the overthrow of the Nandas and ascension of Candragupta Maurya on the throne. Thus we have here two late versions which reveal some new features when compared with other known versions and show how myth and fiction have grown round events having historical backgronnd. The work of Ananta Śarman is edited on the basis of two manuscripts belonging to the Anup Sanskrit Library or Bikaner State Library. The work seems at one time to have acquired some popularity in Bengal: a manuscript of it in Bengali characters was noticed by R. L. Mitra and the *pūrvapīṭhikā* found in J. Vidyasagara's edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* appears to have been based on this work.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Culture, vol. XII, no. 3 (January-March, 1946)

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Did the Bhāraśivas overthrow the Kuṣāṇas?* The Bhāraśivas are sometimes identified with the dynasty of Nava-Nāgas mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, and are also credited with the exploit of expelling the Kuṣāṇa power from the Gangetic valley. The contention of this paper is that there is no conclusive evidence in support of the identification of the Bhāraśivas with the Nāga family of Kāntipurī in Mirzapur district, and that it was probably the Yaudheyas who had overthrown the Kuṣāṇas and drove them away to the Western Panjab.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARJEE.—*Yāska and Śākalya.* Instances are cited in the article to show that Yāska in his interpretation of the Vedic verses in the *Nirukta* had occasions to follow as well as to criticise Śākalya, the author of the Pada Texts of the Ṛgveda. From the variety of interpretations of some Vedic stanzas recorded by Yāska, it is conjectured that he had before him various Pada Texts which in some cases differed from each other.

J. B. CHAUDHURI.—*The Subhāṣṭāvalī of Śrīvara.* A manuscript of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and wrongly ascribed to Śrīvara has been described here to prove that the work is nothing but a version of Vallabhadeva's well-known anthology differing considerably from its edited texts.

PRADYUMNA KUMUD MOOKERJEE.—*Social and Economic Data in Aśokan Inscriptions.*

G. C. BASU.—*Earliest Bengali Grammar written in Bengali.* A manuscript belonging to the Dacca University, entiled *Bhāṣākathākram* bearing the name of the author as William Carey with the date mark 16th August, 1810, is the earliest known grammar of the Bengali language written in Bengali.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*Kaliṅga Rājarāja and Rājasundarī. Rājarāja*, mentioned in the inscriptions as having married the Cola princess Rājasundarī, was none but the Kaliṅga-Gaṅga king Rājarāja Devendra Varman, who is surmised to have fought against the Cola King Vīrarājendra, whose daughter was Rājasundarī.

B. C. LAW.—*The Samantapasādikā.* The note supplies information of varied interest as found in Buddhaghosa's *Samantapasādikā*, a voluminous commentary on the five books of the *Vinayapiṭaka*.

B. N. PURI.—*Toilet and Treatment of Hair in the Kuṣāṇa Period.*

JAGAN NATH.—*Are Govindagupta and Kumāragupta identical?* Mahārāja Govindagupta referred to in the Basarh Clay Seal as a son of Candragupta is supposed here to have once occupied the Gupta throne and to have been overthrown after a short period by his brother Kumāragupta.

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the distinctions in the meanings of several sets of Sanskrit words enumerated in some of the lexicons as synonymous, e.g. *vasā* and *medas stena* and *taskara*.

P. K. GODE.—*Some Notes on the History of the Devāli Festival (between c. A.D. 50 and 1945).*

LUDWIK STERNBACH.—*Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law.* Different types of deposits mentioned in the Smṛti works form the subject-matter of this instalment of the paper.

V. S. AGRAWALA.—*Mahābhārata Notes.* A few words and expressions occurring in the *Mahābhārata* have been discussed.

Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society, no. 1, October, 1946

V. V. MIRASHI.—*The Vākāṭaka Dynasty of the Central Provinces and Berar.* The paper deals with the political conquests and cultural achievements of the Vākāṭaka power which first originated in the South in the middle of the 3rd century A.C. and had a glorious rule for three hundred years with the extension of its dominion over Vidarbha and Northern Mahārāṣṭra by 550 A.C.

H. N. SINHA.—*Foundation of the Indo-Islamic State.* Rulers like Ala-ud-din Khilji, Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Sher Shah and the Great Mughals realised that the Indians could not be governed according to the dictates of Muslim Theocracy. So they had to discard the policy of exclusion and sought for the co-operation of the Hindus in the civil and military departments of the realm. This recognition of the political expediency by the Muslim rulers of India laid the foundation of 'a new state which may be designated as the Indo-Islamic State.'

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*A little known Chapter in the Career of Sir Thomas Munro—His Campaign in the Southern Maratha Country in 1817-18.*

K. S. LAL.—*The Myth of Rani Padminī and 'Alāuddīn Khāljī.* Malik Muhammad Jaisī, a poet of the 16th century in his epic *Padmavat*, gave currency to the legend that Sultan 'Alāuddīn invaded Chitor prompted by a desire to acquire the possession of Padminī, the beautiful consort of Ratan Singh, the ruler of Chitor. The story of Jaisi which is an admixture of romance, adventure, and tragedy ending with the self-immolation of the queen, has been taken as authentic by many historians including Feristah and Hajīuddabīr. The writer of the present paper points out the allegorical nature of the story and regards it as 'a literary concoction' lacking historical support.

Bharatiya Vidya, vol. VII, nos. 7 & 8 July-August, 1946)

P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the History of Indian Plants—Aśvabalā or*

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Hisphitta explained by Ḍalhaṇa as a Variety of Methikā in the 12th century A.D.

KALPALATA MUNSHI.—*The Mahiṣa and the Māhiṣakas.* It is conjectured that the Mahiṣas or the Māhiṣakas mentioned in the Purāṇas as 'dwellers of the South' were a primitive people who had buffalo as their totem of worship. The buffalo formed their chief wealth, and the head of the tribe was called Mahiṣāsura. They are regarded to have flourished in North Sindh in the days of the Mohenjo-daro civilisation, migrating thence to the Vindhya region and then spreading slowly still southwards up to the modern Mysore. The Purāṇic story of Mahiṣāsura-vadha has a reference to the conflict between these people and the Aryans, who destroyed the independent existence of the Mahiṣas, as the legend tells us, with the help of the goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

A. P. KARMARKAR.—*Purāṇic Culture and Tradition.* The condition of literature and education as can be gathered from the Purāṇic accounts is dealt with in the paper.

Ibid., vol. VII, nos. 9 and 10 (Sept.,-Oct., 1946)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Sectarian Difference among the Early Vaiṣṇavas.* Though Samudragupta seems to have been a Vaiṣṇava, he is not referred to in the inscriptions as 'bhāgavata', like his successors, who are all called 'parama-bhāgavata.' Further, among the early Vaiṣṇavas, there were worshippers of different divinities like Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa and others. These facts suggest that there existed some sort of sectarian differences among the ancient Vaiṣṇavas.

MAHENDRAKUMAR VAISHAKHIYA.—*Kṛṣṇa in the Jaina Canon.* As Kṛṣṇa had already become a popular deity among the people, the legends about him had to be incorporated into the Jaina canon. The account however shows that Lord Nemi has been glorified above Kṛṣṇa.

A. P. KARMARKAR.—*The Paṇis and their Cattle-raids described in the Ṛgveda.* The Paṇis were a daring merchant tribe giving rise to the word Vaṇij.

Ibid., vol. VII, nos. 11 and 12 (Nov.-Dec., 1946)

P. K. GODE.—*The Use of Kāca or Glass in Indian Pharmacy.*

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A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship..... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

Prof. H. Jacobi.—I have perused your quarterly with great interest..... I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

Prof. J. Jolly of Germany—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship. I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India.

Prof. Sylvain Levi.—Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India. Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years, a progress that I followed with a sincere joy.

Dr. Otto Strauss.—I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years.

Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri, Hony. Member. Royal Asiatic Society: The Quarterly is becoming more and more useful, more and more learned. You deserve the thanks of the Indian public by focussing so many eminent writers in your Quarterly..... I am reading all Oriental Journals, and about India yours is the most informing.